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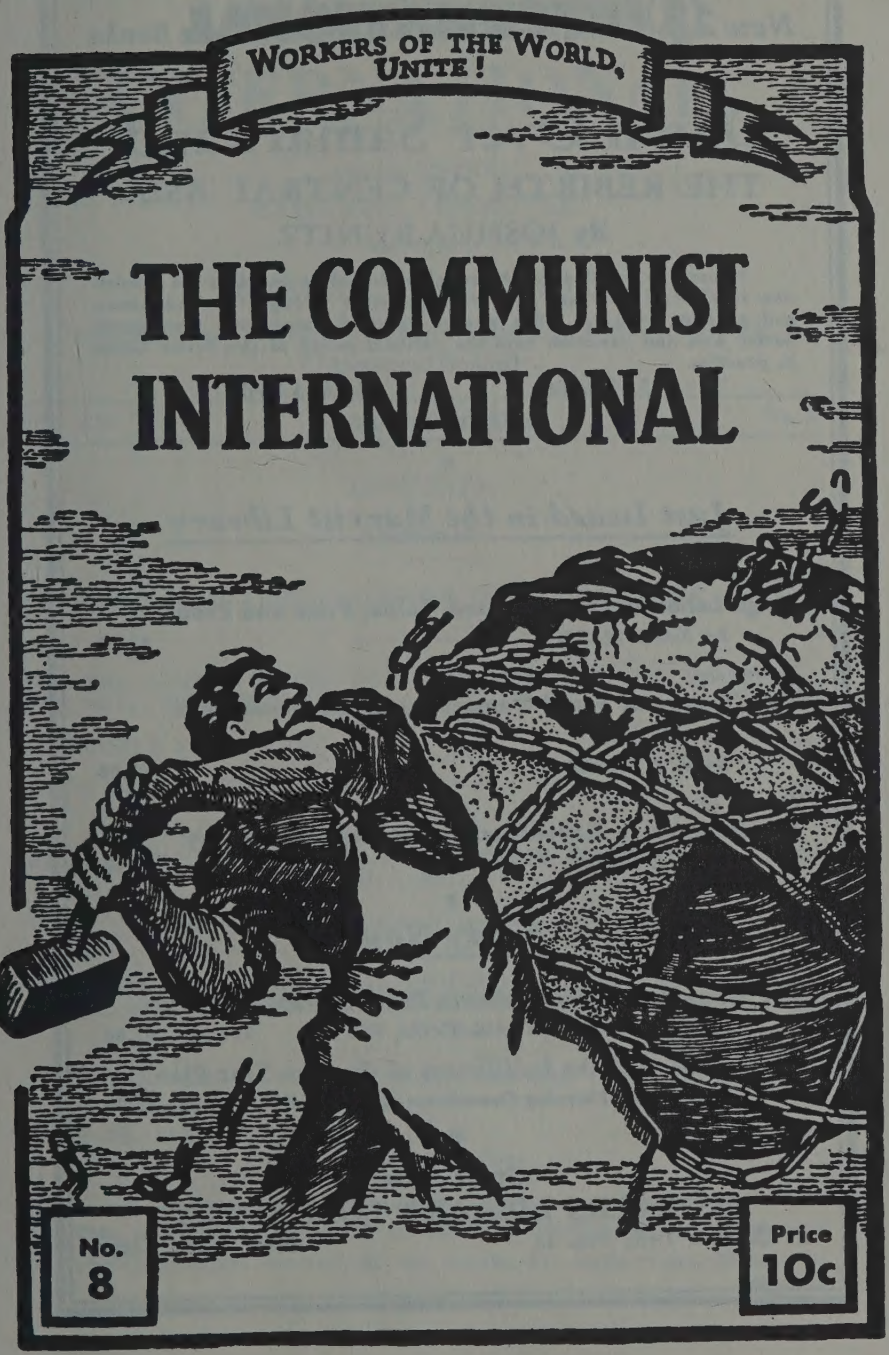

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Germany as the Chief Instigator of War in Europe

A NEW world bloodbath is the outlook for the most immediate future. The continuation of the crisis in the capitalist countries and the growth of fascism have intensified the danger of an anti-Soviet war and the danger of imperialist conflicts. In his report to the Seventh Congress of Soviets Comrade Molotov emphasized that as far as the U.S.S.R. is concerned, the direct danger of war had increased; "It must not be forgotten that there is now in Europe a ruling party which openly proclaims the seizure of territory in the Soviet Union as its historic task. To fail to see the approach of a new war means to close one's eyes to the chief danger."

The National-Socialist Party, which represents the interests of monopolist capital in Germany, has transformed Germany into the main center of the war danger in Europe.

What is the meaning of the law regarding the introduction of conscription passed by the Hitler government on March 16? It means, firstly, that a most important step has been taken in the *practical preparation of war*. Fascist Germany has all along been preparing for war and has established a big army. As long as this army was an "illegal" army, it could not prepare for war as it would have liked, since this army was not, for instance, in a position to conduct maneuvers on a big scale in which whole army corps, air flotillas and big arrays of tanks could participate. Secondly, the law of March 16 opens up a new phase in the armaments race in Europe. *Fascist Germany will become the strongest imperialist military power on the continent.* Thus the conscription law is a turning point in the change of the relationships between the military imperialist forces on the European continent.

Thirdly,—and this is the main significance of the law of March 16—the legalization of German armaments *puts the question of war directly on the order of the day.* The Versailles Treaty consisted of three principal parts—reparations, disarmament and territorial annexations. In 1931 reparations were "temporarily" stopped by Hoover, and will naturally never again be renewed. The law of March 16 finally puts an end to Section Five of the Versailles Treaty which deals with the limitation of German armaments. The revision of the third and last part of the Versailles Treaty, the question of the partition of Europe, has now been placed on the order of the day by German fascism, which is desirous of bringing this repartition about mainly by coming to an arrangement with the imperialist countries at the expense of the Soviet Union. A counter-revolutionary war of the imperialists against the Soviet Union has been placed on the order of the day. *Fascist Germany has assumed the role of the chief incendiary of war in Europe,* with Japan, the main instigator of war in the Far East, as its ally; and fascist Poland in tow, while British imperialism stands behind them all.

Germany is moving towards war and is trying to kindle the flames of war by all means at its disposal. The "Third Empire" is a synonym for war. Its entire policy, beginning from the first days of its existence, has been directed towards the preparation of war, towards a feverish

search for a way out of the crisis by lighting up the flames of a world conflagration.

When the German bourgeoisie established their open terrorist dictatorship, they gave it the responsible task of crushing the revolutionary movement in Germany so as to accelerate the preparation of war. This task has permeated all phases of the home and foreign policy of the "Third Empire".

German fascism speeded up the development of the war industry at the expense of a wide attack on the standard of living of the working class and of the majority of the peasants. All methods of draining the internal resources of the country as well as open inflation were used to finance the war industries. Monopolist capital is perfectly well aware that it can only conduct such an economic policy for a limited space of time. It regards this policy only as the prerequisite for reshaping the map of Europe by armed force, at an accelerated pace. The conquest of territory, the policy of annexations and plunder, is the path taken by the "Third Empire" following January 30, 1933.

At the present moment, however, it is not only a question of plans and tendencies, but of the absolutely concrete plans which are to be carried out at a rapid pace. Fascist Germany is entering the great road of international politics with the banner of war as its immediate outlook. The recent hypocritical pacifist declarations of the leaders of the Third Empire, their declarations regarding Germany's moral right to equality, were only the screen behind which an outbreak of war was being feverishly prepared. This screen and all the stage attributes of German foreign policy are beginning to be thrust aside, and National-Socialist Germany considers that the moment has matured when the mask can be torn off and when it can act with open vizor.

For two years Germany has been frantically carrying on the policy of armaments, the policy of preparing war economically, ideologically, organizationally and technically. The whole of German industry has been militarized at the present time. Hundreds of factories are producing tanks, military airplanes, heavy artillery, machine guns, and shells. The factories of the German chemical trust, *i.e.*, the "Farbenindustrie", are intensively producing weapons for chemical warfare. The country is being covered with airdromes, especially underground ones. Cannon fodder is being hurriedly trained in the labor service camps and in other military institutions. Parallel with this, "grenz-beteurungs-gurtel" organizations have been formed on all the frontiers of Germany, having the very concrete aims of preparing diversional groups with definite spheres of action, of verifying the reliability of the population in the border zones, of helping the Intelligence Service of the General Staff, and of establishing contacts with the National-Socialist organizations abroad. At the same time, intense work is being carried on in all the National-Socialist organizations in Germany with a view to bringing ideological influence to bear on the youth, especially the "Hitler Youth". The backbone of this fascist propaganda consists of the thesis that Germany's vital problems cannot be solved within the confines of successes at home, and that the center of gravity lies in the sphere of an active foreign policy.

By the beginning of 1935, the German bourgeoisie came to the conclusion that the preparatory work was finished. Germany had already a big first class army, and about a million men could be mobilized in a very short space of time. Commissioned and non-commissioned officers have already been trained, these comprising the entire personnel of the Reichs-

wehr and the police force which has swelled to the size of a real army, and reserves of war munitions have already been accumulated. The result of this preparatory work, carried out in full view of the whole world, was the decision of the German government to proceed to speed up the open preparations of war.

The first sign of the new tactics was the announcement by Goering that a Ministry of Military Aviation had been formed, and that Germany had begun to produce air armaments openly, including bombing planes. The decisive act of these tactics, however, was the bomb which exploded on March 16, when the German government announced the introduction of conscription.

There can be no doubt that a definite role in speeding up the pace at which these war preparations are taking place is being played by the difficulties arising from the lengthy period, during which the intense war construction is being financed and by the need to strengthen the inner political situation. These considerations, however, do not exhaust the details of the last German step which has finally removed the mask from the face of the "Third Empire". The international situation, which had been used to the full by the National-Socialist government, played a more important role in this acceleration of the pace.

* * *

What is the international situation at the present time?

Six years have passed since the beginning of the world economic crisis, two-thirds of a normal industrial cycle, but the level of production in the capitalist countries continues to be 30 per cent lower than in 1929. More than two and a half years have gone by since the lowest point was reached in the decline of production, whereas, at ordinary times, such a period would have been sufficient to reach the phase of prosperity. None the less, the capitalist countries are in the phase of profound depression. At the beginning of 1935, according to the very reduced figures provided by official statistics, there were over 23,000,000 unemployed, the figure being on the level of the beginning of 1934. The special character of the present depression as a depression of a special kind, which will not lead to a new advance and prosperity in industry, is becoming ever more evident. "The growing uncertainty of the bourgeoisie as to the possibility of finding a way out of the crisis only by the intensified exploitation of the toilers of their own countries, has led the imperialists to put their stake on war." (*Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.*)

At the same time, the Soviet Union has finished the first two years of the Second Five-Year Plan with exceptional success. The figures for the production of iron and steel give an especially clear picture of the extent of Soviet industry, while the abolition of the ration system for bread shows the success attained by collectivization in the villages. The population is being increasingly supplied with prime necessities and articles of wide consumption on the basis of the exceptional successes being achieved by heavy industry and by collectivization in the villages. The fundamental contradiction of our era, namely, the contradiction between the two systems, between the capitalist world and the Soviet Union, has attained a degree of exceptional intensity. *Every year changes the relationship of forces between the two systems in favor of the Soviet Union, and this is why the capitalist world is speeding up the pace of its preparations for counter-revolutionary war against the land of the Soviets.* The danger of counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet

Union is coming more and more to the forefront, while at the same time the contradictions leading to war between the imperialists are growing sharper.

In proceeding to carry out their aggressive plans, the German bourgeoisie took as their point of departure the following basic prerequisites: German monopolist capital was quite certain that an anti-Soviet policy was the battering ram which would enable it to finally smash the Versailles Treaty, and to open up for itself the path of aggression and territorial conquests.

In drawing up its strategic plan, German fascism at the same time made use of the deep contradictions which divide capitalist Europe.

France has in the recent period lost its main post-war ally, Poland, and its Italian flank is not secured. Under such circumstances, France has very limited powers of maneuvering. Italy, fearing German aggression in the direction of Austria, is at the same time not interested in the defeat of Germany, because this would strengthen France and would hinder the carrying out of Italy's imperialist plans in the Mediterranean. Italy is therefore not above switching German expansion over to the direction least detrimental to Rome. Poland, which at first drew nearer to Germany out of fear of becoming an object of the future negotiations between the great powers, has now fallen into the wake of Germany, and is trying to coordinate its old plans of annexation in the East with the strivings of German imperialism.

The decisive factor, however, in the calculations of the "Third Empire", is *Great Britain.* The reasoning of British diplomacy is the following: England's starting point is that Germany has become a serious military and political force, which is frantically rushing on to the broad road of aggression. Great Britain is therefore interested in guiding this aggression in a direction corresponding to the interests of British imperialism. War against the Soviet Union fully corresponds to the anti-Soviet strivings of Great Britain, and opens up the prospect of satisfying the German appetite at the expense of Soviet territory. England is further trying to bring about a balance of power in Europe which would be advantageous to itself, and would make Great Britain the super-arbitrator between Germany and France. All these points taken together were bound to spur Great Britain on to support Germany in the sphere of armaments and to render it easier for the latter to carry out its Eastern annexationist plan.

The foreign policy of the "Third Empire" was and is being built on these premises, and corresponds completely to Hitler's old conception, now adopted by the German bourgeoisie. The further development of events has raised the hopes of the National-Socialist government that its line corresponds to the actual state of affairs. During the first stage of Germany's foreign political activity, Great Britain brought pressure to bear on France. By claiming that peace must be maintained by making concessions to Germany, British diplomacy assured the rear of the "Third Empire", while at the same time encouraging all the latter's activities as regards the preparation of war. Great Britain made it possible for Germany to rearm itself and to strengthen its international position, masking this policy by hypocritical announcements as to the necessity for the limitation of armaments and the impermissibility of foreign political complications.

On February 3, Simon and Laval signed a protocol in London, in

which it was declared that the problem of German armaments could only be solved as one of the elements of the general system of safety in Europe. While the visit of Simon to Berlin was being prepared, very influential circles in Great Britain made it clear to Alfred Rosenberg and Ribbentrop (who at the present time is Germany's chief diplomat, in spite of the fact that he possesses no diplomatic rank) that the position of Great Britain would be made considerably easier if Germany were to face the various parties involved with an accomplished fact. This hint was accepted by Berlin, and the German government announced the introduction of conscription, a state of affairs not at all unexpected as far as England was concerned. At the present time the British press is expressing its astonishment and even indignation, and the British ambassador has lodged a "protest" with the German government. At bottom, however, this protest represents serious support for Germany, and it is no accident that it has called forth dissatisfaction in Paris.

At the present moment the main thesis of the policy of influential circles of the British bourgeoisie, whose support German fascism hopes to secure, have become sufficiently clear and definite. *Great Britain is afraid of the further strengthening of the U.S.S.R., and is playing the role of the chief inspirer of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.* At the same time, of course, British imperialism fears German armaments and particularly fears the danger of an air attack on England in the future which explains the efforts of Great Britain to secure the conclusion of an Air Convention. But the calculations of the British bourgeoisie are that an anti-Soviet war will distract the forces and attention of Germany in a different direction for a long time.

British diplomacy should, according to the ideas of the most influential circles of the British bourgeoisie, carry through its favorite maneuver which led to the war of 1914. On this occasion, however, a definite factor in its policy is the urge to strike a blow at the Soviet Union by encouraging the aggressive plans of Germany. The anti-Soviet policy of the British bourgeoisie who are for the time being supporting Germany on the question of armaments, meets, as we shall show later, with the unchanging support of the Laborites, who, in the new conditions, are continuing the traditional treacherous policy of the Second International.

Thus German imperialism, with the support of Great Britain and taking advantage of the compliancy of France and the good wishes of Italy, is preparing to take serious action. What is more, German fascism is firmly counting on its ally, Japan, whose methods are being applied with great success by Berlin diplomacy. It is difficult to say whether there is a *military treaty* connecting these countries, preserved in the secret safes of the Ministries of Foreign Affairs in Tokio, Berlin and Warsaw. But in any case there can be no doubt that Germany, Japan and Poland are completely in unison in respect to a joint aggressive policy, which is supported by close military and technical cooperation, transparently masked under the guise of so-called cultural connections.

Germany, of course, would not object if Japan were to be the first to attack the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, if Japan dallies too long and does not make up its mind to attack the Soviet Union, having in view the menace of such a gamble as far as Japanese imperialism is concerned, Germany will be the first, together with Poland, to act as the aggressor, calculating that the unleashing of war in the West will incite

the Japanese imperialists to attempt to carry out their annexationist plans in the East.

It does not essentially follow that German imperialism, spurred on by the instability of its internal basis to take the path of foreign political gambles, will under all circumstances wait for an anti-Soviet situation to mature. It may make an attempt to bring about this situation with the aid of an unexpeced explosion. It would be a gross mistake to consider that war will only begin when the outlines of the future fronts are finally marked out. It is most probable that these lines will take shape in a situation when war has already broken out. Fascist Germany is rushing along the broad road of territorial conquests, supported by British imperialism, and may try to bring about the crystallization of an anti-Soviet coalition with the help of a war explosion.

An anti-Soviet war, of course, does not exhaust the far-reaching plans of the "Third Empire", which regards such a war merely as the first stage to be followed by the conquest of hegemony in Europe, and the operation of the bloody war dreams of German imperialism on the eve of 1914.

The strategic plan of German imperialism provides for a number of *stages*, on the stage of the fulfillment of which German fascism has already entered. The "Third Empire" will more likely select as the object of its first blows those territorial regions which are of an "intermediate" character. There can be no doubt that the problem of Memel will in the near future rise with the greatest sharpness. British diplomacy is trying to satisfy Germany in this direction on the basis of a compact of the powers. If this is not done, the National Socialists will very likely stage an "uprising" in one form or another in Memel and will thus seize this region.

After this operation there will be a new one in a different direction which it is difficult to guess in advance. The object of the aggression of German imperialism may be Austria, Danzig, and even Czechoslovakian territory. Parallel with this, the "Third Empire", working hand in glove with Poland, will consolidate its positions in the Baltic countries, and prove to the bourgeoisie of the Baltic countries that they have no alternative but to abandon their independence and follow in the wake of Germany.

All the possible lines of German aggression are, however, of a *preliminary* character. The chief goal of the annexationist policy of the "Third Empire" is Soviet territory, the preparation of war against the U.S.S.R. being in the forefront of the entire foreign policy of National-Socialist Germany. German fascism, Japanese imperialism and the British bourgeoisie, as well as all their allies, are carrying on a complicated game, and leave out of account the point that a war undertaken by them will be fatal not only for the imperialists who instigate it, but also for world capitalism.

* * *

The bourgeoisie must bear one extremely important consideration in mind. *A war which breaks out in one section of the globe cannot be isolated.* The war conflagration will not be restricted by geographical boundaries. Not a single capitalist country will surrender its positions or let slip a chance to strengthen them.

German fascism, Japanese imperialism and certain sections of the

British bourgeoisie, as well as their allies, leave out of consideration the fact that the war started by them will be fatal not only for the imperialist instigators but for the entire capitalist world.

> "There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It would be a very dangerous war, not only because the peoples of the U.S.S.R. would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution; it would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the U.S.S.R. in Europe and in Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. And let not Messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are near and dear to them and who are today happily ruling 'by the grace of god'" (Stalin *Report of the work of the C.P.S.U. to the Seventeenth Party Congress.*)

The day when German fascism declares war will be the beginning of the end of fascism and capitalism in Germany. The oncoming war will be a war between two systems, between two classes, and will be waged not only on the borders, but in each town, in each little village. The world proletariat will be victorious in this war.

* * *

The bourgeoisie wish to postpone the doom of capitalism by means of a counter-revolutionary drive against the land of victorious socialism. The question of war, of a counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union, has been directly placed on the order of the day. The task of rallying the widest masses against war, and for peace is advanced to the center of the activity of the Communist Parties by the whole course of events.

The task facing the Communist Parties in all countries, and especially in Great Britain, Germany, Japan and Poland is to transform the ardent longing of the masses of the people for peace into a mass movement, into a gigantic force with which the warmongers and those who inspire them will have to reckon. The Communists must be the initiators and tireless fighters for the united front of the working class, for the broad peoples' front of all the toilers against war.

The masses of the workers in Great Britain have shown by all their recent activity that they are ready to carry on an active struggle for peace, against a new world war, and against a counter-revolutionary onslaught on the land of the Soviets. At the same time the Labor Party, which is followed by the majority of the British working class, supports the policy of the "national government". In the House of Commons on March 21, there was a debate on the instructions given to the Foreign Minister, Sir John Simon, regarding his negotiations with Hitler in Berlin. Sir Herbert Samuel, the leader of the Liberals, who spoke after Lansbury, the leader of the Labor Party, declared that Simon would go to Berlin as the representative of the "whole nation" with the support of all parties. And it should be borne in mind that when indicating the circle of questions raised in the London communique regarding the Anglo-French agreement, and to be discussed in Berlin, Sir John Simon

demonstratively kept silent about the Eastern Pact. This forgetfulness on Sir John Simon's part is very instructive. It throws some light on the conversations that will be carried on between Hitler and Simon, and about which, it must be assumed, Simon will forget to inform the House of Commons in his report on the visit to Berlin. The *Daily Herald* has all along been advocating the "honest recognition of the full equal rights for Germany", camouflaging its support of German armaments and of the war preparations being made by German fascism.

The Communist Party of Great Britain, which has obtained considerable success recently in the organization of mass united front actions, must rally the widest masses of the workers in Great Britain against the war policy of British imperialism. The Party must steadily explain the real nature of the policy being pursued by the Labor Party and must organize the resistance of wide masses of workers against this policy.

The Communist Party of Germany, which is carrying on a heroic struggle in the conditions of the brutal terror of the fascist hangmen, is raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism. The fascists are unloosing a wave of frenzied chauvinism, and now already are trying to call forth sentiments which recall the days of August, 1914.

The fascists are clearly trying to find a common language with the majority of the Prague C.C. of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. For the first time since the fascist dictatorship and the National-Socialist movement came into being, the signing of the Versailles Treaty is explained in the "appeal to the German people" regarding the introduction of conscription, not as a "Marxist" stab in the back of the German people, (the notorious "Dolchstoss" argument), but by the claim that "the German people, its government and parties at that time were imbued with a viewpoint which was in full accord with the pacifist-democratic ideas of the League of Nations and its founders". There is no other explanation for this than that it is an attempt to recruit "honest German patriots" from among the Social-Democratic leaders. It will not be superfluous now to call to mind the following facts: the call issued by the Central Board of the German trade unions on May 1st, 1933 to celebrate May 1 under the banner of National-Socialism, the speech made by Wels in the Reichstag on March 17, 1933, and the unanimous vote of the Social-Democratic fraction in favor of Hitler's foreign policy, the policy pursued by Wels and his friends while in emigration, taking a line which has in view the "reformation" of the fascist dictatorship, coupled with the recent refusal of the Prague C.C. to accept the united front proposal made by the Communist Party for a struggle to achieve the free election of the factory committees.

Following the advice given by Hitler and Goebbels [see the chapters about propaganda in the books *Mein Kampf* (My Struggle) and *Kampf um Berlin* (The Fight for Berlin)] the fascist newspapers, in the barefaced provocatory insinuations they are making, are now making use of the methods used by the Intelligence Service in the days of the imperialist war.

On March 9, the *Volkischer Beobachter* (the central newspaper of the fascist party and the government) published a brazen anti-Soviet forgery about an alleged session of the Political Bureau of the C.P.S.U., when discussion allegedly took place regarding war, the world revolution, and about "the creation of the impression that Communism had liquidated itself", etc. There is no need to confute this grossly fabricated forgery. Everybody is aware of the struggle of the U.S.S.R. for

peace, while as regards the proletarian revolution, the fascist journal and those who manage it must get it firmly into their heads, that a war undertaken by fascist Germany will inevitably end by the German proletariat and the toiling masses settling acounts with the fascist hangmen.

The fascists are resorting to all measures to raise a big wave of chauvinism. The task facing the Communist Party of Germany is to struggle against this dark wave, and to prove to the broadest masses of toilers that "liberation from the chains of Versailles" by Hitler means war, that this "liberation" will only serve the interests of the German monopolist bourgeoisie, and that it is a question of trying to achieve a "mighty Germany" by blood and iron and of dismembering the Soviet Union. The difficult struggle carried on by the Communist Party of Germany will meet with the support of the working class throughout the world.

The struggle against chauvinism now is one of the most important tasks facing the Communist Parties in all capitalist countries. As against the ferocious chauvinist campaign being inflamed by the fascists and the bourgeoisie, the Parties must counterpose proletarian internationalism, and the fraternal solidarity of the peoples. A number of Parties have recently prepared and adopted programs of social and national liberation. These programs must be popularized among the widest masses of the toiling population, and be made into powerful weapons in our agitation against chauvinism.

In addition to the struggle against chauvinism and to the organization of the struggle for peace and against the new world war which is on the order of the day, a considerable place in the work of the Communist Parties must be occupied by the explanation of the direct and real conditions in which war is engendered, and the situation in which the revolutionary working-class organizations will find themselves when war begins. This must be done now, so as to prepare the ground for a successful revolutionary struggle during the war. Our struggle against war before it begins and our struggle during the war when it has already begun are indissolubly connected with each other. "The great historical task facing international Communism is to mobilize the broad masses against war even before war has begun, and thereby hasten the doom of capitalism. Only a Bolshevik struggle before the outbreak of war for the triumph of the revolution can assure the victory of a revolution that breaks out in connection with war." (*Theses of the Thirteenth Plenum of the E.C.C.I.*)

The bourgeoisie are seeking a way out of the crisis through war, and primarily war against the Soviet Union. We Communists, the vanguard of the working class and of all the toilers, are burning agitators and fighters for peace. But if the arrant bandits of British imperialism and their friends in Europe and Asia ignite a world war conflagration, we shall exert our every effort to the last drop of our blood, so that this monstrous crime will be their last, so that the war of plunder, the criminal war will be converted into a civil war in which the proletariat are victors, a civil war which will liberate mankind from wars and from fascist barbarism and capitalist oppression.

For the United Front, For the Unity of the Trade Union Movement

THROUGHOUT the world the working masses are watching with the greatest anxiety the bacchanalia of the fascist hooligans who are converting the factories and mills into barracks, are watching the activities of the grasping herd of capitalists who are trying to throw all the burdens of the crisis onto the toilers. Two years of the transition of the economic crisis into a depression have not only not improved the material conditions of the toilers, but, on the contrary, have turned whole sections of the proletariat into serfs in bondage to the brutal fascist dictatorship. The bourgeoisie are utilizing the split in the working class to take away from the workers their means of defense, namely, the right to strike and organization. The fascist gangs are smashing up the trade unions which were founded on the hard-earned money of the workers and built up by a whole series of proletarian generations.

All the measures of international capitalism are directed primarily towards bringing about at frantic speed a reduction in the standard of living of the toiling masses, and towards preparing for a new imperialist slaughter, with a view to a new redivision of the globe. With a cynicism as yet unparalleled, German fascism is trampling down the last barriers on the path towards the preparations of a robber war directed primarily against the Soviet Union. The whole world smells the suffocating smoke rising from the camp of the fascist bandits.

The hour for bringing about the united front of the proletariat and the unity of the trade-union movement is more than nigh. "The working class has sufficient forces in order to repulse an attack, to protect its interests and prevent a new world slaughter." The Red Trade Union International bases itself on this undoubted premise in making the proposal to the leaders of the Amsterdam International that joint demonstrations be held on May First, and that a start be made concretely in respect to the restoration of the free trade unions in Germany, and of the unity of the trade unions in France and Spain. In order to beat back the onslaught of capitalism and fascism, what is needed is the united efforts of the organizations of the proletariat, what is required is the unification of the split trade-union movement.

The establishment of the united front in France and Spain, in Austria and the Saar, has already shown to the very broadest masses of the workers what a force is represented by the united action of the working class, and what could be achieved in the struggle against fascism and the capitalist offensive, if the united front of the proletariat were carried out in good time and if all who participate in it carry on the struggle to the finish. This is why we are aware in advance that the appeal made by the Executive Bureau of the R.I.L.U. to the Amsterdam International, which is the most important document issued in the international trade-union movement during recent years, will meet with full approval and will arouse a mighty echo among all the workers organized in the trade unions.

The Red Trade Union International was formed 15 years ago to do away with the split in the working class movement caused by the

policy of class collaboration pursued in the Amsterdam International. It should not be forgotten that the R.I.L.U. was formed only four years after the October Revolution, during which period Communists throughout the world exerted tremendous efforts to transform the trade unions into genuine weapons of struggle for the class interests of the workers. Long before the foundation of the R.I.L.U., the Second Congress of the Communist International in 1920 demanded that the Communists in all countries should,

> ". . . enter the trade unions in order to make them into conscious organs of struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for Communism. . . . Any voluntary abandonment of the trade-union movement, any artificial attempt to form special unions, unless this is rendered essential by exceptional acts of violence on the part of the trade-union bureaucracy . . . or by their narrow aristocratic policy of preventing the broad masses of unskilled workers from becoming members of the organization—is a tremendous danger for the Communist movement."

Only the mass expulsion of revolutionary elements and of whole trade-union organizations, only the splitting policy of class collaboration pursued by the reformist leaders of the trade unions, led to the establishment of Red trade unions and to the formation of the R.I.L.U.

The R.I.L.U. was formed in order to insure that the trade unions would be converted from bodies which shirked the struggle against capitalism into bodies fighting for the defense of the every-day interests of the masses, and into levers for the destruction of wage slavery. The entire history of the R.I.L.U. is a history of the struggle to bring about the unity of the trade-union organizations so as to carry on active class struggle.

In face of the offensive of capital and fascism, the masses of the workers in the trade unions, and the trade-union organizations in the localities are themselves proceeding to bring about the unity of the trade-union movement. In France three-quarters of the railwaymen organized in both trade unions have united. In Spain, the unity of action of the Asturian miners, rendered firm by the bloodshed in the heroic October battles, has led to the immediate unification of the miners' unions in Asturias. The R.I.L.U. has declared its readiness to give full support to all such efforts made to bring about the unity of the trade-union movement. The R.I.L.U. has declared its readiness to discuss any proposals made in this direction that come from the leaders of the Amsterdam Trade Union International.

For the united working class front!

For the unity of the trade-union movement!

For World Trade Union Unity!

TO THE BUREAU OF THE INTERNATIONAL TRADE UNION FEDERATION, PARIS.

DEAR SIRS,

The bourgeoisie, taking advantage of the split in the trade-union movement, succeeded during the five years of the crisis in depriving the workers of capitalist countries, completely or partially, of their political rights and economic achievements. The condition of the working class in all the capitalist and colonial countries is ever worsening, and becoming more and more insufferable. The toilers are bearing the burden of the crisis. In a number of countries (Germany, Austria and Spain) fascism achieved a temporary victory and did away with all the legal workers' organizations, workers' press and the institutions, built by the working class. Fascism is threatening the labor movement of other countries. At the same time the relations between the different countries are becoming more and more strained. German fascism is openly preparing for aggressive wars. Japanese imperialism is continuing its aggressive actions in the Far East, seizing one Chinese province after another. Italian imperialism is sending its troops to Abyssinia. At any moment some local conflict can give rise to a new world butchery which will bring unheard-of calamities to toiling mankind.

The working class has sufficient forces in order to repulse an attack to protect its interests and to prevent a new world slaughter. But this necessitates the joint efforts of the working class in the struggle against the common enemy; this makes it necessary that all the trade-union organizations come out together, in a united front, against the bourgeoisie and for the achievement of the immediate and general aims of the labor movement; this makes it necessary that the unity of the split trade-union movement be restored.

If the trade-union organizations of the world would, on May First, this year, come out shoulder to shoulder in united ranks against fascism, the offensive of capital and war danger, such action would be of enormous significance. It would be of particular importance to carry out successfully in the near future an amalgamation of the trade unions of France and Spain, where serious steps have already been taken in this direction and to restore by joint action, the free trade unions in Germany, whose mass character is necessary for resistance to the attacks of the capitalists and for the overthrow of the fascist regime.

Considering this, the Executive Bureau of the Red International of Labor Unions *proposes the organization of a conference* of the representatives of the Red International of Labor Unions and of the International Trade Union Federation for the discussion of the following questions:

1. Joint actions of the trade unions affiliated to the Red International of Labor Unions and to the International Trade Union Federation on May First, against fascism, the offensive of capital and against war.

2. Assistance in the amalgamation of the trade unions in France and Spain.

3. Assistance in the restoration of the free trade unions in Germany.

We believe, at the same time, that it would be of great importance to discuss at this conference the question which is of vital significance to the working class of the world, namely: *The forms, methods and conditions of the restoration of international trade-union unity.*

It is understood that we are ready to discuss any proposals of yours concerning the agenda of this conference. We authorize Comrades Racamond and Monmousseau to lead negotiations with you on this question.

Sincerely yours,

EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE RED INTERNATIONAL OF LABOR UNIONS.

March 7, 1935

For a Broad United Front in Japan

By TANAKA

FOR more than three years now, the Japanese imperialists have been waging a war of plunder in China, while at the same time feverish preparations are being made for the "great war". The Japanese bourgeoisie and the fascist militarists presume that war will help them to solve all the burning questions that confront them.

Enormous sums of money are required for war. These are being got together in Japan at the expense of an unprecedented reduction of the standard of living of the working class and of the broad masses of toilers there. War requires "national unity" and peace "in the rear", at home. And the Japanese bourgeoisie and militarists, actively supported by their Social-Democratic (Syakai Taisiuto)* and fascist allies, are trying to scare the masses with the "difficulties facing the fatherland", and the "1935-36 crisis", and are propagating the chauvinist idea of Japan's "life line", which actually means spreading the efforts of the Japanese bourgeoisie and militarists at expansion towards the Soviet maritime province, the South Sea Islands, and Latin-America. All this is being done so as to poison the minds of the Japanese proletariat with the drug of chauvinism, to rally them in support of war, and to separate them from all the "dangerous ideas" which are becoming more and more widespread in the mind of the Japanese proletariat. To this end the bourgeois-landlord government, which has a complete arsenal of refined methods of provocation and espionage at its disposal, is employing a ferocious terror against the toiling masses, especially the advanced section of the working class. During 1934 alone, over 4,500 revolutionary workers were added to the thousands previously imprisoned.

But whether the ruling classes of Japan want it or not, their drive to war is sharpening to the extreme the contradictions inside the country. The strike struggle in the towns is developing and unrest is growing among the peasants in the villages. Differences are growing among the ruling strata themselves as to how Manchuria is to be ruled, how profits are to be divided, and as to the date to be fixed for the "great war". The war drive of Japanese imperialism cannot fail to lead to a sharpening of the contradictions between Japan and the other imperialist powers with interests in the Pacific Ocean. But the ruling bourgeois-landlord clique sees no other way out, and is fevershly preparing for the "great war", and first and foremost for counter-revolutionary war against the Soviet Union.

THE RULE OF THE SOCIAL-IMPERIALISTS AND THE TRADE-UNION BUREAUCRATS

The social-imperialists and the reformist trade-union bureaucrats give their full support to the aggressive policy of the bourgeois-landlord Japan. The "Syakai Taisiuto" and the leaders of the Right wing of the reformist trade-union movement (Kumiai Kaigi) are playing an

* Syakai Taisiuto—Japanese Social-Democrats, fundamentally social-imperialists.

especially active and open-handed role in this respect. The "Kumiai Kaigi" has about 280,000 members, *i.e.*, 80 per cent of the total organized workers of Japan.

When the very first steps were taken in the occupation of Manchuria, the "Syakai Taisiuto" and the trade-union bureaucracy strove to deceive the masses, by making the workers believe that the enslavement of the toiling masses of Manchuria by Japanese finance capital was actually "the creation of a Japanese-Manchurian bloc under the government of the people". In the beginning of last year, the trade-union bureaucrats of the "Kumiai Kaigi" offered their assistance to the government in setting up organs of class collaboration, "Sangiu kiorioku yinkai", after the fashion of the military-industrial committees that existed in Russia during the imperialist war.

In 1933, the "Kumiai Kaigi" on the initiative of the leaders of the extreme Right "Sodomei"* (48,964 members) and the Seamen's Union (98,775 members), which play a leading role in the Trade Union Congress, adopted a program of "healthy trade unionism". The essence of this program is the rejection of all active methods of a class struggle, and the establishment of class collaboration between workers and capitalists—"Class peace in the name of national unity". In actual practice this program meant that whereas the trade-union bureaucrats formerly persuaded the workers that there was no need to strike (strikes are allegedly of no advantage to the workers since they undermine the enterprise which feeds them), now, on the other hand, the local trade-union organizations are forbidden to strike without permission from the center. The only methods of "struggle" on behalf of the interests of the workers recognized by the trade-union bureaucrats are agreements signed on the basis of class collaboration, which, according to Sodomei, are the "corner-stone of industrial peace and collaboration", as well as the presentation of petitions, the development of the workers' mutual aid societies, etc.

The new program adopted in October, 1934, at the last Congress of the "Kumiai Kaigi" is a further step on the part of the reformist leaders in the direction of collaboration with the ruling classes. This program provides for the establishment of a so-called "ministry of labor and industry", representatives of the workers (read: trade-union bureaucrats) to take part without fail in all its work, which ranges from control over the productivity of the labor of the Japanese worker in the interests of the capitalists, to the elaboration for the whole of industry of legislation for compulsory arbitration in connection with strikes. This program which is nothing but a proposal to give official shape to collaboration of the trade unions and the government, is yet another proof of the increasing development towards fascism of the Social-Democratic and trade-union bureaucracy.

There is additional proof of the development towards fascism of the trade-union bureaucrats in the fact that, while they talk of the fight against fascism, they make no attempt, in actual practice, to carry on this struggle. When the fascists split away groups of workers from the Sodomei and the Right moderate Dzenro (over 40,000 members) and led them into their own trade unions, the trade-union bureaucrats adopted no measures whatsoever against this move. Some of the suc-

* Right Reformist Federation of Labor.

cesses obtained by the fascists in setting up their own organizations were achieved just because of the rapid development towards fascism of the leaders of the reformist trade unions. The leaders of the fascist unions, the "Rodo domei"* declared, at the beginning of last year, for example, that they were not against joining the "Kumiai Kaigi", since the latter had rapidly evolved towards National-Socialism, and their common interests had grown. The leaders of the "Sodomei", on their part, have been telling the workers and are telling them today that the Japanese fascists are not the workers' enemies, since they are conducting a struggle against finance capital. Now the trade-union bureaucrats have passed from words to deeds. In October, 1934, amalgamation took place between the Osaki section of the "Sodomei" and the Osaki section of the fascist "Rodo domei", and in November of last year the Tokio section of the "Dzenro"** amalgamated with the Tokio section of the "Rodo domei".

This is why the organs of the government have the support of precisely the leaders of these organizations, when conducting their policy of further enslaving the toilers. It is not for nothing that the Minister of Home Affairs discusses questions of home policy with them and with the leaders of the "Syakai Taisiuto". It is not for nothing that the most prominent trade-union bureaucrats from these trade unions participate in court functions (the presence of Sudzuki at the Court on the occasion of the "Chrysanthemum Festival"). It is not in vain that the government dispatches its representatives to greet the congresses of the Right trade unions. The Minister of Home Affairs himself greeted the last Congress of the "Kumiai Kaigi" and approved the policy of the Rights. The authorities know full well that they have trusty servants in these representatives of the working class.

THE MILITANCY OF THE WORKERS IN THE WAR INDUSTRIES

However, the class struggle undertaken by the Japanese workers is sharpening and is consequently undermining these tactics of class collaboration and of the inculcation of chauvinism among the masses.

In the front ranks of the strikers are to be found the workers employed in the war industries, the metal workers and chemical workers, precisely those among whom the influence of the reformists is especially strong, and among whom strong chauvinistic propaganda is conducted, and over whom a military regime reigns supreme. During eleven months of 1934, there were 215 strikes among the metal workers and 279 among the chemical workers. The struggle of the miners of the Kiusiu region, who until quite recently have been backward, is also taking on broad dimensions now. The miners are fighting against the capitalist offensive, against the intensification of labor, the lowering of their standard of living (the maximum wage of the miner is 1 yen 87 sen, the minimum 70 sen), and for increased wages and a shorter working day. In 1931, this region was the arena of a mass struggle of the miners; but the government and fascists suppressed the struggle then with bloody terror. The heavy burden that has grown in connection with the war is compelling 100,000 miners to rise up in struggle once more.

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* Rodo domei—union of labor.
** Dzenro—reformist trade-union organization.

The increase in the number of the strikers shows the militant activity of the Japanese workers. During eleven months of 1934, the number of strikers reached the figure of 103,300 as against 97,500 in 1933. First place among the strikes that took place during the past year was occupied by those in support of demands for increased wages. They represented about 33 per cent of the total, while in 1931, when the Japanese imperialists began their adventure in Manchuria, strikes of this kind constituted 18 per cent of the total. The number of strikes against wage cuts fell to 4 per cent (according to official statistics), but in 1931 they constituted 27 per cent of the total number of strikes. About 30 per cent of the total are strikes for a shorter working day, for recognition of the trade unions and for the abolition of the system of overseers.

Once they have begun a strike, the workers stubbornly defend their interests. Cases are not infrequent when strikes go on for one to two months and more, and, what deserves particular attention, these strikes take place even in munitions factories. It is especially important to note that during these prolonged strikes, the workers have to overcome the organized sabotage of the reformist leaders, and to go on strike over their heads, despite the military and police terror.

The urge towards the united front is embracing ever broader masses of the members of reformist trade unions, who are learning by experience that divided action and scattered strikes only retard a successful struggle, and that it is more essential today than ever before, to confront the united front of the owners, militarists and fascists with the broad united front of struggle of the proletariat. Strikers are more and more frequently appealing to workers in other factories and their appeal meets with response. Delegate conferences are not infrequently called during strikes to decide upon some measure or other to help the strikers. Time and time again the workers declare strikes over the heads of the reformist leadership in protest against the dismissal of their comrades, or against the arrest of active workers, etc.

EXAMPLES OF STRIKES WAGED

Here are a few facts from the struggle of the Japanese workers against the worsening of their living conditions which has come about as a result of the military-inflationist policy of Japanese imperialism.

A strike of workers engaged in the military engineering works of the Kikai Seisaku Company of Osaka lasted for two months. During the course of the strike, the engineering workers, members of the "Dzenro" spontaneously established a united front with the workers of the Daiotsu Seidzai saw-mills and of the Tekkan Company pipe-rolling works, members of the reformist "Dzenro", who were at that time on strike. A joint strike committee was formed, and although the workers were defeated, it was emphasized in the declaration issued by the strike committee, that they had succeeded in strengthening solidarity between the workers of these enterprises during the course of the struggle.

All the workers of another military engineering works in Osaka, Kikai Kosaku (1,000 employees), fought for two months against the intensification of labor and dismissals. The strike began a short time before the term expired for the delivery of orders for the War Office. Neither the threat of a lockout nor deception of the workers by the

administration (fake telegrams about misfortunes befalling the families of the strikers), neither efforts to influence the workers through their wives nor even the arrest of over 80 strikers in the very heat of the strike—nothing could shake the determination of the workers in their struggle against the burden brought about by the war for a period of two months. Only the united forces of the government and leaders of the "Sodomei" were successful in suppressing the strike.

At the Teppan and Tominaga munitions works, the men went on strike for a 20 per cent increase in wages, for the abolition of part-time work and for a shorter working day.

The workers of two factories belonging to the Nikhon Singo Company (they are in different localities: in Omori and Tsukidzima), went on strike simultaneously, demanding increased wages and the payment of full wages to families of mobilized workers during the time of service of the latter in the army. The strike was declared over the heads of the leaders of the "Sorengo" which is close to the fascists.

Five thousand five hundred workers of the militarized shipbuilding wharves of the Kavasaki Company and the Kamaisi Kodzan works, fought against intensification of labor and longer hours of work.

Unrest broke out in the Mitsubisi aviation works and the Gasu Denki chemical works in connection with the dismissal of temporary workers.

Six thousand women textile workers employed in four factories belonging to the Toyo Muslin Company conducted a joint struggle for an increase in their wages which had been reduced to the utmost in connection with the adoption of super-dumping, and against the dismissal of active working women; (moreover, these factories were situated in different localities, and the women were members of different reformist trade unions). This action on the part of the women also took place in spite of the reformist leaders. Nevertheless, the latter were successful in preventing the conflict from developing into a strike. They smashed the struggle by obtaining petty concessions from the employers.

The whole of the 12,000 tramwaymen of Tokio went on strike against the will of the trade-union bureaucracy, and conducted a stubborn struggle for over a month.

These are facts which characterize the struggle of the Japanese proletariat. One could continue this list of strikes and battles still further.

CONCLUSIONS TO BE DRAWN

What are the conclusions to be drawn from the above?

1. All these facts smash the assertion of the Japanese social-chauvinists and reformists about the class struggle of the Japanese proletariat having calmed down and about the workers having passed to class collaboration—an assertion which aims at drawing the proletariat away from active methods of struggle against capital and war. All these indications of the further swing to the Left of the Japanese workers are of even greater importance because these workers carry on their struggle in circumstances of police terror, of bloody license on the part of the fascists and of the treachery of the social-imperialists and at a time when the workers are being persuaded that any display of struggle for their own interests "will lead to weakening the fighting

power of the Japanese nation", when every strike is regarded as a "betrayal of the fatherland", and when strikes and mass action of every kind in defense of the interests of the workers are subject to cruel persecution. The facts quoted go to prove that the conditions exist for the development of the struggle of the Japanese working class on the basis of a broad united front, and for the raising of the struggle to a higher level.

2. The consequences of the treacherous policy of the reactionary trade-union bureaucrats and of the social-chauvinists are being felt more and more strongly by the workers, and they are beginning more and more actively to break through the network of class collaboration. The leaders of the "Sodomei", of the Seamen's Union and of the "Dzenro", etc., are against strikes, prohibit strikes; but in spite of this, the rank-and-file members of these unions are more and more frequently going on strike over the heads of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy. And so more and more favorable conditions are being created for winning the reformist workers to the side of the revolutionary trade-union movement. However, in consequence of the extremely feeble work of the supporters of the class-conscious trade-union movement inside the mass reformist and reactionary trade unions, the trade-union bureaucrats are still successful in confusing and deceiving the masses, and in repeatedly keeping them under their influence, in holding them back from the class struggle, and in urging definite sections of workers to take the path of class collaboration and chauvinism.

3. The masses are making spontaneous efforts to engage in struggle and are displaying a desire for the united front and trade-union unity. This is a very important, new change in the Japanese working class movement. Ever new sections of workers are being drawn into the struggle. The growing spontaneous dissatisfaction of the masses and their desire for joint action create favorable ground for extending the front of struggle. However, frequently the economic battles undertaken by the Japanese workers take place without the participation of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement. Concrete cases of strikes, and statistics at our disposal all point to this. Out of 273 strikes (taking the largest) which took place during the last year, 138 were spontaneous, and trade unions, in the overwhelming majority of cases reformist and fascist, took part in 135. As regards the total number of labor conflicts, over two-thirds of them were spontaneous strikes. When the struggle remains spontaneous, the forces of the working class cannot be developed to the full. The absence of a fighting leadership is one of the chief reasons for the defeat of economic battles in Japan.

WHY THE SUPPORTERS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY TRADE-UNION MOVEMENT ARE LAGGING BEHIND

What is the main reason that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement lag behind the rate at which the struggles of the Japanese workers are becoming revolutionized and are developing? For they have had a fair experience in leading economic struggles during 1931-1932.

In the line they take, the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement quite correctly lay stress upon the development of the strike struggle on behalf of the daily needs of the workers, especially

in the war enterprises. However, as far as we know, there are still only very few cases where the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement have participated independently either in struggles which have broken out spontaneously, or in strikes conducted by the reformists.

We know that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement organized the action of the workers in the munitions factories in Himedzi, the aeroplane construction workers of Nakadzima, at the militarized artificial silk factories in Ivaoka and Tzukusima, and at the ironworks in Muroran. This was all action directed against the intensification of labor, for increased wages and against a reduction of the standard of living. The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement organized a strike of weavers at the factories of the Aoume Company in Tokio for increased wages; preparations were made for a strike at ten chemical works, but just before it began our comrades were arrested and the strike did not take place. Strikes in which the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement took part were carried through on several steamers. For all these, with the exception of the Tokio tramwaymen's strike which was also prepared by supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement, were, in the main, small strikes which took place entirely isolated from each other.

True, the work of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement is rendered more difficult by the terror. They have not yet completely recovered from the damage sustained in connection with the undermining work carried on by the provocateurs and police spies who made their way into their ranks. All this cannot fail to hinder the establishment of strong contacts with the masses in the factories themselves, and cannot fail to retard the work of the revolutionary trade-union organizations.

Without a doubt, conditions of work are extremely difficult. But we also know that both terror and provocation are powerless to stop the work of the revolutionary trade-union movement. We know that the preceding years of struggle have educated splendid forces of rank-and-file activists, who are overcoming all the difficulties that lie in their way, and are carrying on stubborn, self-sacrificing work, and are displaying very considerable initiative in doing so. It is only thanks to the display of great persistence and self-sacrifice that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement have succeeded in penetrating to the most difficult spheres of work, namely, work in the munitions factories, transport, etc., where particularly severe measures have been adopted against their activities. The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement carried on bold anti-war work in the military-naval arsenal of Kura, where there are 25,000 workers, and in Hirosima (one of the chief military bases). Here they arranged the issue of a works' newspaper entitled *The Forward.* At the Odzi military powder works, at the Nakadzima and Isikavadzima avio-construction works, and at the Tokio Gasu works, etc., they have been trying to rouse the workers to engage in struggle.

It can be seen from information published during the last few months in the press concerning the arrests made among the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement, that they have been working on the railways, among loaders, among the metal workers, with a

view to re-establishing their organizations. In the military port of Kura, 20 comrades were arrested for revolutionary work. In April, 1934, the police press reported the existence of a revolutionary organization in Hirosima, which they had allegedly succeeded in smashing. However, in September, 1934, the police were compelled to admit that during the raid on the arsenal in Kura, among those arrested were found members of the Hirosima revolutionary organization which had allegedly been smashed up in April. These cases point to the fact that comrades working in the localities have in individual cases been successful in finding the methods of approaching the masses which correspond to the local conditions and to the given period. The central organ of the Party, the *Sekki*, when dealing with the anti-war struggle in the Himedzi district, noted the initiative displayed by Party workers in the locality in developing anti-war work in that district.

Self-sacrificing work on the part of the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement does not, however, give the results it should, for they often work in the dark, without any leadership and without taking into account the changes taking place in the general situation inside the country.

Changes in the working class movement demand new methods and new forms of struggle to win the broad masses to the side of the revolutionary movement, changes in the form and methods of struggle against the social-imperialists; they demand increased mass work, an increased struggle against reformists and fascism.

THE NEED TO CREATE A BROAD UNITED FRONT

The Communist Party and the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement of Japan should see to it that the determined struggle to create a broad united front with the reformist trade-union organizations against the capitalist offensive, fascism, and war, occupies the central position in all their work.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement in Japan do not reckon with the changes in the situation. The tactics of the broad united front have still not become part of the system of their work and struggle. The strike of the Tokio tramwaymen could have developed into an extremely powerful struggle—could have spread beyond the confines of Tokio, had the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement, during the strike, ensured the operation of a broad united front and had unmasked and paralyzed the treacherous tactics of the reformists. A fine opportunity presented itself for establishing a broad united front. Under pressure from the masses, about 20 reformist organizations in Tokio, including the leaders of the Right "Kumiai Kaigi" and "Sodomei", were forced to declare themselves in support of the strikers. The strike of the Osaki tramwaymen was ripening. But the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement did not succeed in making use of this situation to consolidate the united front, and the broad wave of solidarity merely took the shape of material assistance to the strikers. This gave the reformists an unimpeded opportunity of pursuing their tactics of negotiating behind the scenes and of isolating the strikers. The fact that the strikers were isolated deprived them of the opportunity of organizing energetic mass action (meetings, demonstrations, picketing) against the owners and strike-breakers, and led to the strike being smashed.

In every strike and in every concrete case where the workers express their indignation against exploitation, the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement must endeavor to bring about the united front of all the workers in the given enterprise, by making proposals to the rank-and-file members of the reformist trade unions and to the reformist trade-union organizations, as well as to rank-and-file members of the fascist trade unions, that a united front be established. If the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement strain all their efforts to extend the struggle beyond the bounds of the given enterprise, by arranging unity of action conferences in the localities and according to industry, then if ceaseless work is carried on among the masses, joint action of this kind on the part of the workers will have a marked effect upon the outcome of the struggle, and will draw broad sections of unorganized workers into the struggle. Only on the basis of approximately such activities can a broad united front of struggle be set up against the bourgeois-landlord government and against fascism and war.

The realization of this task demands that the Communist Party of Japan and the revolutionary trade-union movement make *a radical turn in the struggle to win over the masses. The main stress must be laid upon work in the reformist and fascist trade unions, and in other mass organizations of a legal and semi-legal character,* in which the basic masses of organized workers are concentrated, and which thus exert influence over considerable sections of the Japanese proletariat.

It is quite clear that unless a mass opposition movement and mass opposition groups are established in these organizations—instead of the self-isolation and confinement in sectarian groups as has hitherto been the case—unless a sensitive, individual approach is made to each worker who is in the ranks of the fascist and reformist organizations, unless shape is given at the right time to the demands advanced by the workers, and unless their daily struggle is organized (in spite of the resistance of the reformist and fascist leaders), there can be no question of mass economic battles, of revolutionizing these battles, of leading the workers to mass political strikes, and of decisive battle in a broad united front against the capitalist offensive, fascism, and war.

In the Seamen's Union (Kayin Kumiai) which controls all the work done among sailors, the dissatisfaction which the membership feels towards the leaders of the union has matured long ago. In consequence of the extremely feeble work of our comrades, the fascists have made use of these moods to strengthen their influence inside the union. If the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement do not set their work going in all the reformist unions, it is possible that the same thing will be repeated there as has taken place in the Seamen's Union (it is a known fact that strong dissatisfaction exists among the members of many reformist trade unions), *i.e.*, the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement will find themselves caught unawares.

Will it be possible for the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement to represent the interests of the workers in the enterprises, to know what interests each worker, to give shape to their daily demands, to prepare the struggle for these demands, to unmask the enemies of the proletariat and to consolidate the forces of the working masses for the struggle against exploitation and oppression, if they are entirely divorced from the broad masses?

THE MANEUVER OF THE TRADE-UNION BUREAUCRATS

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement correctly define the essence of the policy of Japanese Social-Democracy, when they declare it to be the policy of collaboration with the bourgeoisie at all costs, as a social-chauvinist, social-imperialist policy. But within the bounds of this line of class collaboration, the social-chauvinists resort to extremely flexible methods of deceiving the masses, the real meaning of which the worker in the reformist union cannot understand by himself, unless we set our own tactics and enlightening work in opposition to these methods. While they endeavor to fulfill the task set them, namely, of reconciling the exploiters and exploited, the social-imperialist agents of the bourgeoisie adopt a pose of defending the interests of the workers. With a view to suppressing the growing dissatisfaction of the workers, they haggle from time to time with individual owners for one or other petty concession for separate groups of workers, while doing nothing and not wishing to do anthing to improve the position of the working class as a whole, though they are continually talking about the difficult position of the workers. For instance, last year about 200 labor conflicts took place among the seamen; the leaders of the reformist unions settled the conflict on the "Toyo Mosu" and many others with the owners "in a peaceful fashion". Although as a result of the conflicts extremely insignificant concessions were obtained, a section of the workers got the impression that trade-union bureaucrats were defending their interests.

The trade-union bureaucrats undertake measures of a kind to help the workers, not infrequently with the money of the workers themselves. For example: the "Sodomei" has a workers' bank, the basic capital of which consists of workers' deposits. If two trustworthy members of the union agree to vouch for him, a depositor applying to the bank receives short-term credit to an extent which sometimes exceeds his own deposit. In exceptional cases, when it is to the advantage of the trade-union bureaucrats, credit is allowed to workers who are not depositors. The "Sodomei" equips so-called "workers' homes", where club and other "cultural work" is carried on. There are workshops in the "workers' homes". According to the report of Nisio, the General Secretary of the "Sodomei", they have built 18 "workers' homes". The seamen's union, which is in receipt of considerable subsidies from the government (300-400 thousand yen) spent (according to the union's report) about 200 thousand yen out of this money in assistance to unemployed (loans, organization of all kinds of auxiliary works, etc.). The seamen's union has the biggest clubs, lodging houses, etc., in the big ports. Moreover, there were 300 cases of help of one kind or another being given from the funds of this union to seamen (sickness, accidents, small loans for travelling home after dismissal, etc.).

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement with their extremely feeble work in the reformist mass trade unions, are not in a position to carry on a day-to-day exposure of the real meaning of the measures adopted, and the demagogy displayed by the reformist leaders with a view to camouflaging their policy of support for the Japanese bourgeoisie and the bourgeois-landlord government. The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement stand apart from these unions, and therefore cannot carry on enlightenment work and rally the masses of the members to win leading positions in their unions in the localities and at the center, to secure control over the mutual benefit and trade-

union funds, which are at present being squandered by the trade-union bureaucrats.

THE DEMAGOGY OF THE FASCISTS

The weakness of the work carried on in the reformist trade unions threatens later to deepen the split in the ranks of the working class. The fascists have of late been developing particularly active work among the masses, demagogically depicting themselves as the "defenders" of the workers' interests, making use of and inculcating still further chauvinistic sentiments among the workers, and camouflaging their policy with demagogic anti-capitalist phrases; and they are now getting a grip upon the workers who are dissatisfied with the reformists. For instance, the fascists put forward demands of this kind: equal pay for equal work, State insurance for the unemployed, recognition of the right to strike and to organize unions, and demands for various aspects of labor legislation, etc., *i.e.*, more radical demands than those put forward by the reformists.

Although they are opponents of strikes, the fascists at times conduct small strikes, in order to penetrate into the ranks of the working class. Thus, they conducted a strike of navvies in the Miyagi perfectorate against dismissals and for an increase in benefits, in case of being discharged. At one chemical factory, where young workers are in receipt of 70 sen a day, the fascists declared that this was unjust, and organized a strike for increased wages, and got the men a raise. We know of still more facts of this kind. As a result the fascists are succeeding in bring certain sections of the proletariat to their side.

Of late the fascists can boast of certain organizational successes: the number of members in the existing fascist organizations has increased, and new organizations have been established. The chief of them, the Sangyo kurabu, is trying to spread its influence among the workers employed in the big military undertakings (their membership now is 17,000, whereas last year it was 11,000). A union has been newly organized in the Yavata ironworks combine, and covers about 4,000 workers. Fascist organizations have been, or are being, organized in the localities. Some of the fascists are making use of the slogan of trade-union unity which is popular among the masses, and make use of this slogan to unite their small unions with the right-reformist organizations, thus extending their own mass base.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement are doing nothing to oppose these efforts of the fascists to secure control over those organizations whose members are disillusioned in the reformists; and they only feebly unmask the demagogy of the fascists. Cannot the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement make the proposal to the rank-and-file members of fascist unions that a joint strike be carried through on behalf of the demands advanced by the fascists for demagogic purposes? And then in the course of the mass strike, really directed against oppression and exploitation, the fascists will not only drop out of the struggle, but will do their utmost to smash the strike and thus reveal their real face to the masses. This would be a convenient opportunity for the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement to unmask the demagogy of the fascists.

The supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement must fight against the establishment of fascist trade unions. But where these

unions have already been formed, we must penetrate into them and work inside them. If we do not do this, the fascists will without doubt succeed in taking a further step towards realizing their task of consolidating their positions in the factories, of ideologically disarming the proletariat and deepening the split in the Japanese trade-union movement.

The struggle carried on in a broad united front only increases the fighting power of the working class. An inalienable condition essential for this is unity of the trade-union movement on the basis of the class struggle and trade-union democracy. The Japanese workers need powerful united fighting trade-union organizations.

THE TACTICS OF THE RIGHT REFORMIST TRADE-UNION LEADERS

The workers of Japan are striving to bring about unity in the trade unions for the purpose of defending their interests against the capitalists. This desire on the part of the masses is so strong, that the leaders of the Right trade unions (affiliated to the "Syakai Taisiuto" and the "Kumiai Kaigi") are forced to hide their splitting policy behind shouts about unity. The Right leaders are carrying on a noisy campaign for unity; but what is behind all their clatter?

1. They do not want to hear about unity either with the revolutionary trade unions or even with the unions in opposition to them, like the present "Hiogikai". What is more, the Right leaders are waging a violent struggle against these trade-union organizations. The Right leaders do not even ask the opinion of their own members, when they expel all those who are dissatisfied and especially those who are in the opposition. The C.C. of the Right reformist unions have appropriated to themselves the right of engaging in the uncontrolled expulsion from the union of individual members and of whole groups. The splitting policy of the leaders of the "Kumiai Kaigi" has gone so far that they rejected the proposal of the "Hiogikai" unions which oppose them, to unite the May Day demonstrations of the unions in 1934.

2. The most Right reformist trade-union movement is, as hitherto, split into several independent federations: the "Sodomei", "Dzenro", "Sorengo", "Rodo Sorremei", and others. The Right reformist leaders are shouting with all their might about trade-unity unity, but they have not even united these federations which differ in no way from each other. They have limited themselves to forming the "Kumiai Kaigi", which is merely a consultative organ of these federations, of the seamen's union, etc., and is composed exclusively of leading officials. The "Kumiai Kaigi" does not muster together the forces of the workers in defense of their interests; it is engaged in persuading the workers that they must obtain alms from the government and collaborate with the capitalists.

3. It is becoming more and more clear of late that the Right leaders will not succeed in suppressing the desire of the masses for unity, by setting up the "Kumiai Kaigi". The Right leaders have themselves been talking about uniting the "Sodomei" and the "Dzenro". But they get no further than mere talk. Even in these conversations, the question is not raised of real unity among the trade unions in one and the same branch of industry, which belong to these various federations. It is again a question of unity merely at the top, on the lines of the "Kumiai Kaigi". The reformists are maintaining the present position, where there are several small trade unions in one and the same factory and in

one and the same branch of industry. These unions differ in no way from each other, except that they belong to some federation or other which, in turn, differ from each other mainly in that some leader or clique of leaders rules the roost in each of these. Every Right reformist federation of trade unions is composed of innumerable small and minute trade unions, which themselves fall into still smaller groups. It is enough to give the official figures of these federations themselves: the "Sodomei", for example, has 48,000 members; but it is split into 78 (!) unions; the "Dzenro" has 42,000 members, split into 47 unions; the "Sorengo" —27,000 members, in 37 unions; the "Rodo Sorromei"—8,000, in 20 unions.

What mockery of the workers and all their hopes are words about unity on the lips of those very trade-union bureaucrats who maintain such divided trade unions in their own camp!

Side by side with this unity from above of the trade unions of the "Kumiai Kaigi", there exists yet another organization of trade unions on a national scale—the "Dzenkoku hiogikai". This organization of trade unions, as a result of pressure from below, is against the policy of class collaboration pursued by the reformist and fascist trade unions, and is against fascism and war.

THE STRUGGLE FOR REAL TRADE-UNION UNITY

The "Hiogikai" is uniting the hitherto scattered individual trade unions which now form part of its composition. However, the "Hiogikai" is still sectarian in its attitude towards the struggle for unity of trade unions of all shades. The "Hiogikai", for example, has not sought unity even with the unions which are close to it like the transport workers' federation, the municipal workers' union, the Tokio gasworkers' union, etc. And yet, *if the "Hiogikai" really wants to bring about the unity of all the trade unions, it should strive first and foremost to secure unity with the trade unions which are more "Left" than the "Hiogikai", and take the initiative in uniting all trade unions in Japan, in all branches of industry, in every town and region, and on a national scale.*

The unprecedented disunity which exists in the trade unions of Japan, and the absence of trade-union democracy in the Right and fascist unions, is one of the most important reasons why the trade-union bureaucrats are successful in pursuing their treacherous policy.

If each and every Communist and supporter of the revolutionary trade-union movement were a member of the legal trade unions which exist in the factories where he works then—and only then—would the advanced workers be in a position to develop the struggle in actual practice against the splitting policy of the trade union bureaucrats, on behalf of real trade-union unity, against the uncontrolled rule of the treacherous leaders, on behalf of trade-union democracy, and to ensure that the rank and file of the membership, and they alone, define the policy of each and every trade union. Obviously the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement must take up themselves the initiative in the fight for trade-union unity, and head the struggle themselves.

The changed situation confronts the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement in Japan with new, extremely complicated tasks. These tasks require a radical reconstruction of the whole of the trade-union work. There is not the slightest doubt that the supporters of the revolutionary trade-union movement will determinedly carry out this reconstruction.

Work in the Reformist Trade Unions in Australia

By J. BILLETT

ON account of greatly improved work, the Communist Party has over the last 12 months, considerably strengthened its positions in the reformist trade unions. To gain influence in the reformist trade unions in Australia where the workers in many industries are almost 100 per cent organized, means to also spread our influence amongst the workers in the factories, and paves the way for the independent leadership of economic struggles. It is because of this fact, the existence of highly organized reformist trade unions, the membership of which comprise those employed in the basic industries, that this work assumes paramount importance for the Communist Party. It is precisely in those industries where consistent planned work has been carried on in the unions, that the Party and the Minority Movement, are now succeeding in winning the confidence of the workers, and leading them in their economic struggles. This is particularly true of the mine and tramway workers. Still another very important factor bound up with our trade-union work, is the fact that the Austrian Labor Party is based on the reformist unions. Nearly every trade union is affiliated to the Labor Party. The majority of the trade-union leaders are prominent members of the Labor Party, or at least actively support its policy. The policy of the Labor Party against strikes, for arbitration and class collaboration, is carried into the trade unions by the Labor Party leaders in charge of the unions. This close connection between the unions and the Labor Party is also of considerable financial benefit to the Labor Party, as it not only receives income by way of affiliation dues, but regular donations to its election funds. It will readily be seen, that were the Party to adopt a sectarian or neglectful attitude towards the reformist trade unions, it would have the effect of not only isolating the Party from the decisive sections of the workers in industry, and strengthen the influence of the reformist bureaucracy, but would also strengthen Labor Party illusions within the unions. These "Left" sectarian tendencies which take the form of resistance to work within the reformist unions were strong within the Party for several years. It is only now, after the Central Committee had waged a prolonged stubborn campaign against this opportunist deviation, that there is taking place a serious turn towards systematic work within the reformist trade unions.

MINORITY MOVEMENT FORMED

The formation of the Minority Movement in 1931, gave fresh impetus to our trade-union and factory work. The Party has now succeeded in building Party fractions and militant trade-union groups in the most important unions and Trades and Labor Councils throughout Australia. Many of these fractions and groups are certainly weak, but their work is improving, and with strict attention from the District and Section Committees they will become potent forces in the unions and councils. Despite the narrow structure of the M.M. and its underestimation for some time by the Party, it has greatly facilitated our task in gaining connections with broader masses of workers in the unions and factories. Although there were misgivings in the minds of some comrades con-

cerning the launching of the *Red Leader*, the M.M. official organ, who feared it would endanger the sales of the Party press, this outlook was proven to be entirely incorrect, as the 10,000 copies sold weekly brought increased support to the Party and increased the sales of the *Workers' Weekly* and the other revolutionary papers.

A good example of trade-union work, which brought very effective results to the Party and M.M., was that conducted in the Miners' Federation. Organized into districts, this union has 30,000 members. Until the end of 1933, the central positions in the miners' union were held by members of the "Left" Lang Labor Party. Tens of thousands of pounds of the union's funds were poured into the coffers of the Labor Party. This money, over £42,000, made possible the launching of the Lang party's official organ, the *Labor Daily*, which is carrying on a vile slander campaign against the revolutionary movement. The whittling away of the wages and conditions of the mine workers, especially during the period of the crisis, and the failure of the reformist leadership to make an effective stand against the mine owners' offensive, had a pronounced radicalizing effect upon these workers. Our fractions and militant groups in the lodges dealt concretely with the situation in the coal mining industry, and very effectively exposed the union officials who opposed partial and general strikes in the industry, with the plea that "the miners were not organized into one big mine-workers' union". The work of the Party during the Northern District miners' lockout in 1929, when the miners' officials, instead of broadening the struggle to all the districts, confined it to the northern coalfields, ending in a defeat, and weakening the union, greatly enhanced our prestige among the mine workers. Although the lockout was led by the reformists, the Central Committee did not underestimate this struggle. The best organizers were sent into the lockout area, and despite extreme police terror, carried on mass work by way of delivering addresses to lodges, holding street meetings, organizing workers' defense corps, and daily issued thousands of bulletins giving the policy of the Party. Similar agitational and organizing activity was carried on in the Western and Southern districts in New South Wales, where the Party spread its influence and strengthened itself organizationally.

CENTRAL POSITIONS CAPTURED IN MINERS' UNION

Our campaign among the mine workers was led by the M.M. national mine-workers' fraction executive. M.M. district executives were also formed in the districts. Mine and district papers, both printed and mimeographed, have a large circulation. During the last 15 months preceding the election of Orr to the secretaryship of the Miners' Federation the *Red Leader* sales increased by over 200 per cent. The Central Committee of the Party regularly checked up on the mining campaign and made concrete decisions to strengthen it. One very important decision was that Comrade Orr, who was secretary of the Minority Movement and a well-known miner, should seek nomination as a militant candidate for the position of general secretary of the Miners' Federation. The large vote received by the militants in the 1932 annual elections for the central and district positions, was conclusive evidence that the reactionary officials were fast losing favor. Orr was successful in receiving nomination for the position of secretary, Hack for Northern District President, and Nelson for President. A real, live campaign was conducted on behalf of these candidates. Every unit and M.M. group in the minefields greatly increased their activities. During the election campaign, *Red Leader* sales increased by over 300 per cent in

the mining area. Copies of the election policy and program went into the hands of every miner. Besides these leaflets issued from the center, the local Party committees and M.M. groups also issued leaflets dealing concretely with the situation in each district. Our candidates conducted an energetic campaign throughout the coalfields, speaking at lodges and public meetings. The result of the elections was a big blow to the reformists, both in the unions and Labor Party. Orr and Hack were elected, while Nelson was defeated by a small margin. Due to the death of Dan Rees, the union president, an extraordinary election to fill the vacancy, held August, 1934, resulted in the militant candidate, Comrade Nelson, being elected with a majority of nearly 2,000 votes. This election took place soon after the victorious Wonthaggi miners' strike, conducted under our leadership. The capture of the most important positions in the Miners' Federation, one of the basic unions in Australia, is an outstanding example of painstaking, consistent, planned trade-union work.

THE WONTHAGGI STRIKE

It is interesting to see what effect the leadership exercised by the new militant officials had upon the Wonthaggi strike, and upon the Miners' Federation as a whole. The Wonthaggi coal mine, consisting of five pits, is owned by the Victorian government. Early in 1934, the mine workers struck work against the victimization of several mine workers and for the recognition, by the management, of the union delegates. Instead of the struggle being led by the small district executive union, which was the position in previous strikes, the Wonthaggi strike was led by a broad rank-and-file committee of 60 members, including district officials, elected by a mass meeting of the mine workers. This committee was divided into smaller committees, which were responsible for organizing relief, entertainments, issuing strike bulletins, and so on. A most intense solidarity campaign carried on right throughout Australia for moral and financial support, brought donations from the trade unions, Labor Party branches, factories and unemployed organizations, besides support from the Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle Ballarat, Geelong and Goulburn Trades Councils. Teams of striking miners visited all the main cities, to address meetings, collect finances and establish Wonthaggi defense committees. Not only was support forthcoming from the rate payers and business people at Wonthaggi, but from many of the poor farmers in the surrounding districts who donated cows, sheep, fruit and vegetables. Besides their regular strike pay, the strikers received supplies of rabbits, meat, bread, jam, fruit and fresh vegetables. Self-help was organized in the form of boot-repairing and hairdressing. Over 100 of the strikers' wives were drawn into various activities, such as, relief, sewing circles, and addressing factory meetings at Melbourne. This remarkable activity was made possible by the energetic work of the Party groups in the unions, factories and M.M. who fully utilized all the possibilities of forwarding the campaign.

Our strike strategy was to drive ahead with the solidarity campaign; tighten up the Miners' Federation which prior to the new leadership had become organizationally weak; make preparations to extend the struggle into a general strike in the coal-mining industry, linking this up with the workers' struggle in other industries for the restoration of the 10 per cent wage cut. Comrade Orr gave very active personal leadership to the struggle, receiving the enthusiastic support of a meeting at Melbourne in June of 500 shop stewards and Labor Party branch secretaries and being instrumental in very effectively discrediting the local Labor Party politician before the striking mine workers, when he attempted to

sabotage the strike by raising the "Red scare". At the end of 20 weeks, with the strikers as solid as the day they struck work, and support from the workers extending, and preparations for a general strike under way, the Victorian government opened up negotiations with the strike committee and granted the strikers' demands.

Strict attention was paid during the whole course of the struggle to the question of building the Party and the M.M. The Party nucleus increased from 20 to 60 members, and the M.M. was strengthened with an additional 400 members. In the election for the lodge executive, the militants won the majority of the positions. To show their appreciation of the militant leadership, the lodge, by an 80 per cent vote, decided to affiliate to the M.M. Another very good organizational achievement was the strengthening of the miners' union as a whole, which came out of the struggle much stronger than when it entered it, a fact that cannot be recorded to those struggles led by the reformists. There is a vast improvement in the union finances, the cash balance being raised from £3,000 to close on £8,000.

The capturing of the central official positions in the Miners' Federation has alarmed and stampeded the Labor Party leaders into action. For the first time in the history of the Labor Party, accredited members of the Labor Party, receiving the endorsement of the Executive, were nominated to contest the miners' elections held November, 1934. So serious a view did the Labor Party leaders take in this matter that Jack Lang, the popular "Left" leader of the New South Wales Labor Party and leader of the opposition in the State parliament, toured the coalfields and delivered speeches against the Communist Party. He stated that, "people had either got to be with the Labor Party or the Communist Party". Also, "if there is any likelihood of any big unions electing members of the Communist Party into the controlling positions of that union it is my bounden duty, as the leader of the Labor Party in this State, to urge, and I do it, the rejection of the Communist Party". Despite Lang's popularity and the fact that the Labor Party candidates heavily defeated the Communist candidates in the coalfield electorates at the Federal parliamentary elections held two months previously—although the Party considerably increased its vote—and the fact that the miners' union is affiliated to the Labor Party, the present militant officials Orr and Nelson retained their positions, easily defeating the Labor Party nominees. Lang's action in openly and maliciously attacking the Communist Party, created doubt and disillusionment in the minds of thousands of Labor Party supporters, and has been responsible for bringing them closer to our Party. Many of the lodges and unions, including the Australian Railway Union, strongly protested against what they termed "the interference of the Labor Party in union affairs".

The recent strike in October of the Melbourne tramway workers, draws attention to our increased activity, and steady growth and militant trade-union work among the tramway workers. The tramway systems in all capital cities are government-owned. Prior to 1930, when our influence was very weak, the conditions of the tramway workers were good compared to those enjoyed by workers in private employment. But the heavy inroads since made into their wages and conditions, engendered a pronounced feeling of discontent throughout the tramway service. It was not difficult under these circumstances to make an approach to the tramway workers around such burning questions as the return of the ten per cent cut, against dismissals, casual employment, broken shifts, speed-up, espionage and against the "death plank" and for corridor tram cars.

The "death plank" refers to those tram-cars which have no center

corridor, but narrow foot-boards running from end to end on both sides of the car. The tram conductor is compelled to walk this foot-board to collect the fares, which makes this work very hazardous and unhealthy as he is likely to lose his hold and slip off, or be hit by passing traffic, besides being continually exposed to the weather. Numerous conductors meet with accidents every year, many proving fatal. The campaign initiated by the M.M. in the union and depots for the abolition of these dangerous foot-board cars, received enormous support from the tramway workers, forcing the government to introduce 200 corridor cars, this being the first instalment.

WORK AMONG TRAMWAY WORKERS

Our rapid penetration into the ranks of the tramway workers was only accomplished through paying strict attention to militant trade-union groups and depot nuclei—a difficult task on account of casual work and broken shifts. The Party succeeded in winning positions on the leading executives of the Tramway Union in the largest States, besides building Party and M.M. groups in the majority of the tramway depots, which regularly issue factory papers. This work was still further improved and coordinated by the formation of the tramway M.M. national executive. Mass meetings and demonstrations held in Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide made clear the tramway workers' determination to call a halt to the government's attacks, and to improve their wages and conditions. In an attempt to pacify the tramway workers in both Melbourne and Adelaide, the Tramway Trust granted slight concessions. But these successes spurred the tramway workers onwards. Committees of Action were formed in the Melbourne depots, while in Adelaide we were successful in electing a Council of Action at a largely attended special union meeting, which is under our leadership. This Council regularly issues a bulletin, the expenses for which are met by the union. In Melbourne, where the president and vice-president of the Tramway Union are M.M. members, a stop-work meeting made the demand on the Tramway Trust to increase their wages by two shillings a day during the Centenary Celebrations in October, to compensate for the extra work entailed due to increased traffic. This was on the eve of the visit of the Duke of Gloucester, the King's son, to Melbourne. The Trust was given 24 hours' notice to comply, and on refusing, the 4,000 tramway workers struck work.

The strike lasted three days, when due to the influence brought to bear by the reformist leaders in the Tramway Union and the Melbourne Trade Council Disputes Committee, the strikers accepted a £10,000 bonus, pending further negotiations with the Tramway Trust.

ARBITRATION AND TEN PER CENT WAGE CUT

The declaration of the Sydney Trades and Labor Council and broad trade-union conference in May last, in favor of withdrawing from the Arbitration Court, denotes the Leftward swing of the masses, their dissatisfaction and growing disillusionment with the whole system of compulsory arbitration as a means of furthering their interests. It is an indication, also, of the weakening of the influence of the reformist trade-union officials and Labor Party leaders, who regard arbitration and conciliation as one of the corner-stones in their policy concerning the relations between the workers and the capitalists. Arbitration in one form or other (Wages Boards, Conciliation Committees) has been the policy of the bourgeoisie and their reformist allies in Australia for over 20 years. It is responsible for linking up the trade unions to the

judicial legal machinery of the State apparatus, resulting in a tremendous weakening of the fighting capacity of the workers. Each State in Australia has its arbitration tribunal to which the unions have access, providing they are registered by the Court. This means that those unions not registered, or which have been de-registered by the Court, have no legal standing with the Arbitration Court. Unions are refused access to the Court and are de-registered when they take part in strikes, and refuse to comply with the Court's order to return to work. It is illegal for the workers to strike, and those unions directly concerned can be heavily fined, and the strikers are liable to be fined and imprisoned. When a trade union is de-registered, it is possible for reactionary elements to organize and to receive registration for another union—that is, providing they are successful in influencing the workers to leave the de-registered union. The trade-union leaders make good use of the bogey of de-registration in order to strengthen their opposition to a militant class struggle policy.

During the period of capitalist "prosperity" when Australia received record prices for its wool, wheat and other primary produce, and the secondary industries were rapidly expanding, the Arbitration Courts invariably gave slight wage increases and improved conditions to the workers. These awards were given after long periods of delay, in some cases amounting to years, especially when the union was weak, and at the cost of thousands of pounds to defray solicitors' expenses. The reformist leaders sanctified arbitration as a "sane and reasonable" method of safeguarding and improving the workers' wages and conditions.

Yet at that period all the facts went to prove that in those industries where the workers declared strikes against the Court's award or because of the long delay in dealing with the union's log of claims for a new award, they were able to have their case immediately dealt with and receive treatment in accordance with the strength of the union and the militancy displayed. In this period arbitration aided as a very effective brake to curb the militancy of the workers. It prevented strike actions from developing by directing the workers' discontent into legal class collaboration channels. Instead of the unions being live centers where the workers would discuss their grievances and decide upon a class struggle policy of action, they were allowed to become merely lifeless bodies which considered such questions as dues payments and listening to the secretary's reports on Arbitration Court transactions as being their chief functions. It is little wonder that during this period when the Party was inexperienced and its trade-union work suffered from sectarian weaknesses, there prevailed among the workers a respect for legal methods as a means of dealing with the class conflicts between the workers and the employers. The trade-union bureaucrats became skilled union legal advocates, receiving praise from the judges for the able manner in which they presented the case for the union.

At the commencement of the economic crisis, when the bourgeoisie commenced a vicious offensive against the workers to reduce wages and worsen conditions, the reformist leaders, notably Jock Garden, then secretary of the New South Wales Trades Council, stated bombastically that the Arbitration Court would act as a brake to curb the desire of the employers to lower wages. This prophecy was proven by subsequent events to be absolutely incorrect. Far from being a brake, the Arbitration Court became the chief lever of the bourgeoisie to speedily reduce wages and to abolish privileges and concessions that the workers had enjoyed for decades. This judicial tribunal became the rationalization instrument in the hands of the employers, reducing wages over 35 per cent, and lengthening the hours for a number of industries from 44 to 48

per week. When it was becoming obvious that the Arbitration Court, because of its wage-slashing awards, was a tool of the employers, there developed a feeling in the workers' ranks in opposition to arbitration, which had its reflection in the increasing number of strike struggles throughout the country. To offset this, and to again rivet the workers' attention to arbitration, the Australian Council of Trade Unions (A.C.T.U.) decided that no union should apply singly to the Court; that there should be, instead, a mass trade-union application to the Federal Court for the restoration of the ten per cent wage cut, which is a very popular demand with all sections of the workers. This joint appeal was made early in 1934, the union's claim being sponsored by Charlie Crofts, secretary of the A.C.T.U. Despite his demagogic threats in Court, that the workers might take the path of revolution were the Court to refuse to sanction the restoration of the ten per cent wage reduction, the judges gave a decision which in essence amounted to a declaration making the ten per cent wage cut a permanent reduction.

The Party seized upon the widespread discontent manifested in the factories and unions against the Court's decision. Resolutions were carried in the unions attacking arbitration, and for the building of organization in the enterprises, in order to struggle against the employers. Especially effective was the work of our fraction in the Sydney Trades Council, where Garden, afraid that the mass movement against arbitration would swing past the reformists, brought forward a proposal for the Labor Council to endorse the publication of a pamphlet exposing the Arbitration Court, and proposing withdrawal by the unions, and reliance on organization, struggle and direct negotiation with the employing class. Our militant group successfully called upon the Council to convene a broad trade-union conference to receive endorsement of this policy. This conference, consisting of Labor Council delegates, union executives, and representatives of shop committees, endorsed the statement drawn up by a committee appointed by the Labor Council, of which the following is an excerpt:

> "To resist the operation of the ten per cent and basic wage swindle, this Conference calls on the workers to use all weapons of the class struggle, including strikes, and declares its solidarity with the Wonthaggi miners and Perdrian rubber workers, who are on strike against worsened conditions, with the South Australian railmen who are conducting a regulation strike. . . . This conference calls on all sections of the workers to support these struggles and others that may develop. At the same time, the Conference emphasizes the need for a general strike to enforce a genuine restoration of the ten per cent and to call a halt to the capitalist offensive."

The Conference laid down a clear line on the establishment of factory committees and councils, and machinery to conduct collective bargaining with the employers. This resolution, coming as it did from a widely representative gathering of unionists, incensed at the finding of the Federal Court, had a distinct bearing upon the success of the Wonthaggi strike, and the decision of the Melbourne tramway workers to make use of the Centenary Celebrations and the visit of the King's son, to go on strike. The threat of a general strike on behalf of the Wonthaggi strikers and for the restoration of the ten per cent wage cut, combined with the growing mass solidarity support, was without doubt the reason why the Victorian Government capitulated. It must be stated, however, that although the Party should be commended for the initiative displayed in waging a very good campaign in the unions and factories against arbitration and for the mobilization of the workers

for strike action, the whole campaign was allowed to weaken after the success attained at the New South Wales trade-union conference. The Conference should have been the starting point for a more energetic campaign to organize united-front struggles in the factories around the ten per cent issue and other partial demands. To allow these burning issues to subside was precisely what the reformist leaders desired, as they were then afraid to come out openly in opposition to them on account of the mass pressure from below. The intensification of this campaign would have placed the Party in a more favorable position to expose the A.C.T.U. Congress decision in favor of arbitration.

The militant trade unionists at the A.C.T.U. Congress held last October, were led by William Orr, general secretary of the Miners' Federation, who moved the motion carried at the New South Wales trade-union conference against arbitration. After a debate lasting two days, this motion was defeated, the voting being 48 votes for and 72 votes against. The voting showed, nevertheless, that it is precisely in those unions receiving attention from the Party, and in which good functioning fractions are operating, that support for our policy is forthcoming. These unions comprise the Miners', Australian Railways Union, Ironworkers, sections of the Amalgamated Engineering Union, and the Sydney, Adelaide and Broken Hill Trades Councils. At the conclusion of the Congress, the miners' delegates issued a manifesto criticizing its reactionary resolutions, and appealing for support for the line laid down at the trade-union conference.

AMONGST THE RAILWAY WORKERS

Persistent work in the Australian Railways Union (A.R.U.) has spread our influence very extensively among the railway workers. This union affiliated to the R.I.L.U. in 1931, but the Federal Executive broke the affiliation when the Federal Government threatened to take action against the union under the Crimes Act. The extent of our influence in Queensland can be gauged from the fact that the Queensland branch of the A.R.U. gave the lead in its official organ, *The Advocate*, to give number one preference vote to the Communist Party candidates at the Federal elections held in September.

Except for two or three small privately-owned lines, the railways throughout Australia are government-owned. Built with British capital, the capital value of the New South Wales railways is more than £140,000,000, and the annual interest bill amounts to £7,500,000. Due to these enormous interest payments to the British bondholders, the N.S.W. railways have made no profit since 1926, the loss alone for the year 1932 being £5,364,650. To overcome this loss the Railway Commissioners carried out intensive rationalization drives against the railway workers. The reduction in wages from 1928 to 1932 amounted to more than £11,000,000, while 8,900 railwaymen have been sacked during the same period. The fact that few strikes have occurred against these attacks, is due to the following reasons: the fear of losing superannuation payments, seniority rights and other privileges; the large percentage of workers who have been over ten years in the service, while most of those with under 10 years' service have been sacked; the retention of conditions still better than those enjoyed by other workers, such as annual holidays with full pay, payment for public holidays, and tram and rail travelling concessions. We must also take the A.R.U. leaders into account who sidetracked the question of struggle by futile appeals to the government and the Arbitration Courts. And finally, because the Party and the M.M. had not succeeded in penetrating into the unions and workshops.

The Party has made headway since 1932 in spreading its influence among the railway unions, especially the A.R.U. This is reflected in the railway workshops, where we have established Party and M.M. groups and stable workshop committees. Factory papers issued by either the Party or the M.M. circulate in all the larger workshops. The Party was successful in having elected a majority of its members and supporters upon the Committee of Thirty, established at a mass meeting of representatives of union and shop committees, convened by the New South Wales Trades Council to formulate a policy to meet attacks upon the basic wage and the railway workers. Notwithstanding the attempts of the reactionary trade-union officials to stultify its operations, the committee conducted workshop meetings and issued educational material. It commenced the publication of a paper, *The Magnet*. Early in 1933, this committee was replaced by a Council of Action which took over the publication of *The Magnet* and built its circulation to 7,000. A further strengthening and building of workshop committees was performed by the Council of Action, with such good results that the Central Council of Railway Shop Committees organized by the Sydney Trades Council is now under Party and M.M. leadership. In order to strengthen our positions in the trade unions, *The Magnet* is now issued by the C.C.R.S.G., and circulates in all railway centers throughout the country.

An indication of improved trade-union work, since the Central Committee and District Committees have planned and frequently checked up on our trade-union work, is to be seen in the decisions of the conference of the A.R.U. representatives and sub-branch secretaries, held last May in Sydney. The conference carried motions to withdraw from the Arbitration Court; to organize the railway workers on the jobs in the form of shop committees and committees of action to prepare for struggle; and to conduct an intensive campaign for closer unity and the development of one union in the transport industry. It also decided:

"That side by side with this, the A.R.U. fall in line with the New South Wales trade-union conference and agitate for a general strike to enforce the demand and adjust the conditions of rail workers." The conference elected an organizing and educational committee of 20 to be responsible for further developing this campaign. This committee controls the mass meetings held in the town and country centers, and prevents the campaign from being sidetracked by the A.R.U. leadership for the return of a Labor government, as was the case previously. The task of the Party is to utilize these decisions to get closer to the railway workers. We should set in motion a vigorous agitation for the repeal of the very unpopular Public Service Salaries Reduction Act, and to develop strikes in the workshops for the restoration of the ten per cent cut and other pressing immediate demands.

DELEGATION TO THE SOVIET UNION

The railway, tramway, mine and waterside workers democratically elected delegates to attend the May Day celebrations at Moscow in 1933 and 1934, despite the ban placed on the F.S.U. by the Labor Party. When it is taken into consideration that these delegates are away from their employment for nearly six months; that it costs £120 each for fares, besides running the risk of victimization, this is a good achievement. This achievement would not be possible without active work in the unions by our fractions and militant trade-union groups, linking this up with similar work in the workshops, mines and wharves. Of exceptional importance, in view of the acute war danger, is the support given to the anti-war movement by the A.R.U. The secretary of the New South Wales branch is chairman of the National Council Against

War, and the columns of the *Railroad* regularly publish material supplied by the anti-war movement.

Despite these improvements and successes, the whole Party has not yet sufficiently orientated itself to work within the reformist trade unions. The main sphere of mass work for the Party and the M.M. is in the trade unions, in order to penetrate into the factories and win the masses away from the influence of the reformist leadership. Our success in some of the large unions will be extended to other unions when every member and supporter of the M.M. is mobilized for mass work within the reformist unions.

The Party should constantly check up on our trade-union activities, build and improve the work of the fractions, see that our members become the best trade unionists, the best fighters on behalf of the workers' demands, alert and responsive to every question affecting the workers in the factories, mines and workshops. The sentiment for unity, manifested in a very pronounced form at the New South Wales trade-union conference, and the conference of railway delegates, as well as the reformist unions, their turning away from legal compulsory arbitration government methods, opens up avenues for the Party and the M.M. to carry out an energetic campaign for trade-union unity, which should take the form of abolishing the numerous craft unions, by building one union in each industry.

The official positions won in the Miners' Federation should be utilized to approach other trade unions to lay down and carry out a plan of action for the realization of the trade-union conference decisions; and to struggle against the proposed Disloyal Organizations Bill and other issues.

ALTER SECTARIAN CHARACTER OF M.M.

In order for the M.M. to reach broader masses of workers, it is necessary to overcome its sectarian approach, and to alter its narrow construction. We must take such steps that will ensure that no difficulties are placed in the way to hinder workers from joining or giving support to our militant trade-union groups. The election of candidates for union positions should not be confined to members of the M.M., but should include militants who have influence among the workers. Still another factor responsible for narrowing down our trade-union work, is the use of former slogans and demands that do not suit the changed situation. This particularly refers to the demands for an increased minimum wage and shorter working week, which obscured the immediate and popular demand for the return of the ten per cent wage cut.

We must skilfully link up political demands with the struggle of the workers for their economic demands, including the repudiation of interest payments to the bondholders who supplied the capital for the building of the Australian railways and tramways.

Our exceptional influence amongst the mine workers should be rapidly consolidated by the building of stronger Party and M.M.* groups in the mines. There are all the indications that the reformist leaders will continue with the unscrupulous campaign with the object of regaining control of the union.

The Labor leadership is carrying on a wide campaign against the Communists in the trade unions, especially the Communist leaders of the miners' union. For example, they open fire:

> ". . . against the challenge of a degenerate Communism, and those who do not stand with the Labor Movement in this conflict

* The title M.M. has outlived itself and the Party is considering suggesting a new title.

stand against it. It is one of those crimes that mark the history of working class organization where rail sitters and opportunists are called upon to declare themselves unequivocally." (*Labor Daily*, October 23, 1934.)

"The issue is abundantly clear. It is a challenge on the part of a Communist Minority dictatorship to the organized Labor Movement." (*Labor Daily*, October 27, 1934.)

It is therefore necessary to reply to this campaign of the Labor leaders by further strengthening our positions organizationally, as well as taking measures to raise the ideological level of the mine workers, develop their class consciousness, and free them of their reformist illusions. The publication of the union's official paper, *Common Cause*, independently of the *Labor Daily*, should be an aid in this direction.

FIGHT FOR TRADE-UNION UNITY

Made furious by their defeats, the reformists will make use of the official positions they still hold in some of the lodges to disrupt and split the union with the object of regaining control. It goes without saying that the government, the Courts and the coal-owners will render assistance to the reformists to restore their leadership or build a new miners' union. These dangers should be pointed out to the mine workers. It is necessary to make immediate preparations to consolidate the union in every lodge and to expose the splitters. In order to reinforce and maintain our leadership in the central positions of the union, it is necessary to contest every official position in the lodges and for the district executives, to win the leadership in these lower organizations. Our extensive influence amongst the workers in the smaller mining unions, engine-drivers and colliery mechanics, should be utilized to establish Party and militant trade-union groups within them. While not neglecting to champion the every-day interests of the mine workers, we should also conduct a campaign for the unity of all the mine workers, by the formation of one union covering the mining industry.

The Party is commencing to play an increasingly important role in the strikes that are occurring in all parts of the country, taking the leadership from the outset and retaining it till the conclusion. The changed attitude taking place within the ranks of the workers towards such fundamental questions as arbitration, the leadership of the trade unions, and of strike struggles, and their striving for improved forms of organization, all point to the fact that big struggles are looming ahead; that the workers are in the mood to be organized to take the counter-offensive to improve their wages and conditions, to achieve the right to strike and picket, and prepare the ground for an offensive against the whole capitalist system, for the revolutionary way out of the crisis, for Soviet Power.

In the face of this situation we must diligently strive to build the united front, to still further improve our mass work in the unions and factories, in order to win the workers away from the influence of the reformists, and to organize them to struggle under the revolutionary leadership of our Party.

The Work of the Canadian Communist Party Between the 6th and 7th Congresses of the C. I.

By J. PORTER

AT the time of the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928, Canadian capitalism was in the heyday of its post-war expansion. New industries, such as mining and newsprint, reached high levels. An expanding home market, assisted by large immigration, accompanied a developing market abroad for agricultural and industrial products, until in 1928 Canada ranked among the large capitalist exporting nations. Agriculture developed, particularly in the branch of wheat farming, on an increasing mechanized basis, and Canadian grain and dairy and lumber exports, chiefly to the European market, rapidly mounted.

During and since the Great War, Canada grew into an industrial nation. In contradistinction to the older capitalist countries, its industry was organized in a most modern manner, utilizing all the advantages of capitalist rationalization. Output per man-hour was higher than in the older countries. The bourgeoisie became fabulously rich, and passed on some small portion of its profits to the more highly skilled strata of the workers. The wages of the mass of the unskilled working class did not rise in similar proportion, but remained at the subsistence level.

While British capital investments in Canada had maintained first place in the pre-war days, in the period following the war, U.S. capital poured into Canada, obtaining absolute control in some industries. At the same time, the Canadian bourgeoisie possessed the balance of economic power, and was able to invest during this period, not only huge sums for home development, but more than two billion dollars abroad, chiefly in Latin-America and the U.S.A. With finance capital entrenched, and possessing independent interests in the world market, Canada has definitely become an imperialist country, if not of the first order, at least of secondary rank.

This development of Canada from its former colonial position transpired in the midst of sharpening imperialist contradictions. As a result of its economic, social and geographic position, Canada is placed in the midst of the Anglo-American imperialist conflict. In this conflict, the Canadian bourgeoisie orientates to best suit its economic ambitions and advantages, now veering towards U.S. policy, now to British. This creates inner conflicts in the camp of the Canadian bourgeoisie.

The imperialist interests of the Canadian bourgeoisie place Canada definitely as an active organizer for war; its position on the Pacific seaboard makes it an extremely important war base for Great Britain in the Pacific, and recent happenings (the Hankey mission) show that Canadian and British war authorities are alive to this fact. The Canadian government, through its own ambassador, maintains very friendly relations with Japan. The Canadian bourgeoisie is mobilizing thousands of young unemployed for semi-military camps, it organizes military training in the schools, increases expenditures for war preparations,

builds new air bases, etc. At all times, the Canadian bourgeoisie evinces a bitter hatred of the Soviet Union, and this resulted, in 1931, in an almost complete embargo of Soviet imports into Canada. Since that time the government has consistently refused to heed demands for the resumption of trade with the U.S.S.R.

The economic crisis, which commenced in 1929, hit Canadian capitalist economy particularly severely. Within a year and a half, more than one million workers were thrown out of industry, of which a million still remain jobless. Foreign trade dropped until imports exceeded exports. The world wheat market declined, almost wiping out Canadian wheat exports, on which Canadian foreign trade vitally depends. The collapse of the wheat market literally ruined the 240,000 wheat farmers who rely for their existence mainly on foreign sales. Wheat prices fell far below the cost of production.

Faced with a rapidly falling foreign market, the Canadian bourgeoisie entered on a stiff tariff policy, which led to a trade battle with the U.S. and Great Britain, its chief commercial associates, and to the strengthening of monopolies in the country. Relief from the crisis was sought within the orbit of the British Empire through a system of mutual preferences, but an effort to organize this (the Ottawa Imperial Economic Conference, 1932) failed. Panaceas of all descriptions (wheat price pegging, government sales control and marketing, mixing farming, etc.), have failed to solve the crisis, but have placed new burdens upon the toilers.

A slight recession in the severity of the economic crisis was noted by the C.P. of Canada at its Seventh Congress in June, 1934. This was marked by an upturn in production in some industries (mining, steel), a slight rise in employment and a strengthening of the foreign trade balances. The recession has not affected agriculture to any marked degree, and such industries as building remain stagnant. Entrance into the "depression of a special kind" has not vitally affected the general critical position of Canadian capitalism, nor has it reduced the objective possibilities for revolutionary mass work.

FASCIZATION AND THE DRIVE TO WAR

The Canadian bourgeoisie, in its efforts to beat back the increasing militancy of the masses and to strengthen monopoly capital, is resorting more and more to semi-fascist methods. The State apparatus is being fascized through the medium of a number of measures introduced to outlaw strikes, to legally enforce codes of wages and hours with provisions for penalties by openly repressive means, to establish rigid police control over workers' meetings. Fascist organizations have been formed in the recent past.

The bourgeoisie in carrying out its policy is resorting to rabid social demagogy. Premier Bennett, faced with a general election this summer, is masquerading as the apostle of "reform" of capitalism, and is proposing a policy of rigid government interference in capitalist "evils".

The attitude of the big bourgeoisie, for whom he speaks, can best be shown in Premier Bennett's own words:

"Opposition from any class which imperils the future of this great undertaking, we will not tolerate!"

Through this demagogy, the bourgeoisie attempts to exploit the growing discontent of the workers and of the lower middle class, so as to turn their militancy away from the path of struggle against capital-

ism and into that of support for the fascist plans and policies of the big bourgeoisie.

Commencing with the outlawing of the Communist Party in 1931, and the imprisonment of several of its leading members for long terms, a period of severe political reaction set in. Open terror, mass arrests, violent strike-breaking are the means used by the bourgeoisie to force through its repressive policies.

In carrying through its fascization measures, the bourgeoisie is relying directly on social-reformism in the parliamentary and trade-union fields, both in order to sap the revolutionary energy of the masses and to directly aid in passing anti-working class measures. Integrally connected with this process, are the increasing expenditures for military and air armaments and the growth of war industries (chemical, nickel), pointing to steady preparations for war.

THE FIGHT FOR A BOLSHEVIK PARTY

The rapid sweep of the crisis and its disastrous effects on the living standards of the workers, toiling farmers and lower middle classes, coupled with the increasingly effective mass work of the Communist Party, the revolutionary trade unions and the mass organizations, has brought about a mounting wave of strikes and an increase in the mass movements for unemployment insurance and against the miserable relief system; a virile, popular movement against political reaction and police terror; numerous fights against evictions and for better prices among the toiling farmers. The radicalization of the *basic* sections of the Canadian proletariat is becoming more marked each day.

If the Communist Party has been able to stand at the head of these movements and to successfully withstand the vicious attacks of the bourgeoisie, it was so only because it has rid itself, of the opportunist leadership which existed at the time of the Sixth Congress, the MacDonald-Spector group, which is now the official Trotskyist gang in Canada. These renegades refused to accept the policies laid down at the Sixth Congress. They rejected the Comintern's diagnosis, pointing to the sharpening general crisis of capitalism, adhering instead to the Lovestoneist position of "American exceptionalism". They sought to destroy the independent leadership of the workers by the Communist Party, by tieing it to the tail of the now defunct Canadian Labor Party. They repudiated the need for independent leadership of economic struggles and the organization of revolutionary unions. They sought to maintain the Social-Democratic federalist structure of the Party.

After the Sixth Congress of the C.P. of Canada in 1929, and with the active assistance of the Comintern, the Right opportunist leadership of MacDonald was removed. The Trotskyists were exposed and expelled. A new leadership, adhering to the program and theses of the Comintern, was established. While the general line of the new leadership was correct, it at first committed serious mistakes.

The main error of the new leadership consisted of an incorrect understanding of the degree of the development of capitalism in Canada, its position in the imperialist world, and the character of the driving forces of the revolution. The leadership of the Party proceeded from the theory that Canada was a semi-colonial country. Its bourgeoisie was seen to be "hopelessly divided" between the U.S. and British capitalist interests, and the perspective was considered to be, not a proletaran revolution, but civil war between these two bourgeois camps. This led to raising the slogan, "Canadian independence" from Britain.

Such a theory meant the denial of the proletarian character of the revolution in Canada; it gave a wrong estimate of the driving forces and tasks of the revolution and it led to the point of view that not the Canadian, but the British and U.S. bourgeoisie are the main class enemies of the Canadian workers.

It is necessary to note here that Lovestone, trying to prove the "exceptional" character of American imperialism, supported this opportunist position. The Trotskyist Spector has previously put forward such a point of view.

With the help of the Communist International, the Canadian Communist Party overcame this mistake and characterized Canada as an imperialist country of secondary rank possessing no colonial characteristics. It was shown that the approaching revolution in Canada is a proletarian revolution, and the slogan "Canadian independence" was characterized as opportunist. The new leadership unreservedly accepted this characterization.

Since the removal of the opportunist leadership, the Party has become more fully conscious of the need for struggle against Right opportunism, as expressed in a failure to head the struggles of the workers, slowness in establishing living contacts with the masses, and a strong tendency to lag behind, to depend on the spontaneous militancy of the workers. The Right danger has been and remains the main danger for the Party, as was emphasized in the January, 1933, Plenum of the Central Committee (the first after the outlawing of the Party), at the Seventh Party Congress in June, 1934, and at the intervening and subsequent plenary sessions of the Central Committee. *The fight against Right opportunism in the daily work of the Party has been a struggle to turn the Party from its old isolation from the masses into a really mass Party. In the first place it meant the thorough reorganization of the structure of the Party from its old federalist system of national entities, into a Party with numerous shop, mine and factory units capable of carrying out revolutionary mass work.*

The Party developed a successful struggle against "Left" sectarianism, which substitutes phrasemongering and generalities for actual concrete, living leadership and work.

It can be said of the Canadian Party that the fight against opportunism of both Right and "Left" variety, has been the most valuable political experience of the Party, and has enabled it to emerge from its former isolated existence and become a growing factor in the political and economic struggles of the workers.

THE CAPITALIST ATTACK ON THE PARTY AND THE FIGHT AGAINST POLITICAL REACTION

In meeting the attack of the Bennett government in 1931, the Party passed its first test of fire with little panic, without serious loss of membership. The Party organization went underground, preserving its apparatus after reorganizing it to meet the new situation.

The Party quickly orientated and strove to make the defense of the Party a burning issue among the masses, pointing out that the attack on the Party was the commencement of a reign of terror against the working class as a whole. The Party was conscious of the meaning of the attack and the motives behind the action of the bourgeoisie. A wide agitation was conducted. The Canadian Labor Defense League rapidly grew into a large mass organization, and mobilized hundreds of thousands of workers for the defense of the Party, and through that,

for the defense of the civil liberties of the working class. During the trial of the eight comrades who were arrested, errors were made in correctly placing the Party program and turning the attack on the bourgeoisie into an attack upon the government. These mistakes were later admitted by the central leadership. In the three years which followed, before the release of the imprisoned comrades in the summer and autumn of 1934, the Party learned how to struggle for the masses in the new situation.

From 1931 to 1934, the Party was able to mobilize the largest mass movement ever to arise in Canada, behind the demand for the release of the imprisoned Communist leaders, and for the cessation of the system of capitalist terror against the working class movement.

The Party is mobilizing the masses against the fascization measures of the bourgeoisie under the slogan: "Defend every last bit of freedom from the capitalist attack!"

The Party and its mass organizations can register big successes in this movement, and through its growing mass influence was able to effect the release (though as yet only on parole) of seven of its leading members, and to defeat the plans of the government to imprison other outstanding revolutionaries.

It must be said, however, that the Party has not yet completely learned the correct manner in which to make the fight for its legality a major issue among the masses, vitally connected with the whole fight of the workers against political reaction and in defense of their daily interests.

Opposition to the concrete measures of fascization which are being enacted by the bourgeoisie, such as the codes in industry, forced agreements which abolish the right to strike, has not yet taken on mass forms, although the beginnings of local united-front actions between the reformist and revolutionary unions in localities have started. Such anti-labor measures as the Special Powers Act in British Columbia, the Arcand Act in Alberta, can be defeated by the mass united opposition of the workers and toiling farmers.

THE PARTY AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLES

The Canadian trade-union movement is split into five different groups. The reformist unions unite a majority of those organized. The past two years have witnessed a growth of the revolutionary trade unions until at the present time they number 37,000 members in the mining, lumber, furniture, garment, food, canning, and other industries. Thousands of hitherto unorganized workers have become members of the unions of the *Workers' Unity League*, the revolutionary trade-union center. While the W.U.L. unions have penetrated the light industries in the main, strong unions exist in the mining and lumber industries. In addition to this, the revolutionary unions and the Party maintain leadership over independent unions in the mining industry and among the longshoremen.

The Party and the Red unions have led the overwhelming majority of the strike struggles in the past period, and definitely stand at the head of the mounting strike wave. The revolutionary unions have led bitterly fought class battles (Stratford, Anyox, Noranda, Flin Flon), during which extreme police and military terror was used by the bourgeoisie.

The task of the Party and of the Red trade unions in the immediate future is to extend the organization of the unorganized workers into

the steel, auto, textile, agricultural and other industries, where as yet the overwhelming majority of the workers are not in unions.

The Seventh Party Congress laid before the membership the paramount task of overcoming the criminal neglect of work within the reformist unions. Unless the Party is able to build a powerful rank-and-file movement within the reformist unions, all talk of building a united front in economic struggles and extending the mass influence of the Party becomes phrasemongering.

Among the rank-and-file workers of the reformist unions there is a noticeable movement towards trade-union unity. The government is forcing through code legislation to outlaw strikes, and to prevent the growth of revolutionary unions. Company unions are on the increase in the heavy, unorganized industries such as steel, packing, auto and textile. Faced with this situation, the revolutionary unions have proposed, to the entire labor movement, a "crusade" to build the unions, to organize the unorganized industries, to defeat the company unions, and to unite the five wings of the trade-union movement into one class federation of labor. At the same time, the revolutionary unions and the rank-and-file movements in the reformist unions will fight for and concretely propose one union in each industry.

A vigorous fight for trade-union unity, accompanied by flexibility and an analysis of each concrete situation, must be carried on by the Party and its fractions in the unions. Such a fight will bring about a solid front of labor, and will break the reactionary grip of the reformist trade-union bureaucrats. This demands from the Party a more determined fight for trade-union unity, for one united trade-union movement, founded on the principles of struggle and trade-union democracy. The revolutionary trade unions must be in the forefront of these struggles.

The fight for a united trade-union center must proceed by way of a fight for one union in each industry. The Party is creating a powerful, united-front movement of all unemployed workers, regardless of the type of organization to which they belong, with the active cooperation of many unions, clubs, churches and kindred bodies, to force the government to bring down genuine unemployment insurance and to abolish the present system of relief in kind and slave labor camps.

Our Party has been guilty of allowing the fight for unemployment and social insurance to lapse somewhat in the past period. In 1931, our Party was instrumental in first raising the issue of contributory versus non-contributory unemployment insurance. Recently, the movement received an impetus due to the calling of the successful *national united-front congress for unemployment insurance in February*, 1935, *in Ottawa*. Understanding that unemployment insurance at the expense of the government and the employers *is a first class issue in Canada*, particularly now that the Bennett government has introduced a contributory insurance scheme which will *exclude* the present million-strong unemployed army, the Party is trying to rectify the error made in the past two years.

THE FIGHT FOR THE UNITED FRONT

The Party is in the leadership of a widening movement of the masses to achieve unity around the slogan of the Party: *a united front in the fight against hunger, fascism and war!*

At the time of the attack by the government on the Communist Party in 1931, the forces of social-reformism consolidated through the formation of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation (C.C.F.). The

program of the C.C.F. is modeled after that of the British Labor Party.

A growing desire to enter into a united front with the C.P. is to be seen among the rank-and-file and lower officials, while the reformist leaders have set their face against the united front, and have refused to enter into negotiations with the Party. But pressure from below is increasing. Local united-front actions are becoming more frequent. Pacts have been signed between district organizations of the Communist Party and the Socialist Party, a section of the C.C.F. Friendly relations are being established between Communist and Socialist workers, leading directly to joint actions and the breakdown of the obstacles which have separated them.

In the carrying through of the united-front tactics a number of errors have been committed. We fail to sharply differentiate between the reformist leaders and their followers. We group the Liberal, Conservative and Labor Parties together as "bourgeois" parties, as in the general election platform of our Party. We too often resort to name calling, and to a frequent use of the term "social-fascist", which arises from our sectarianism, and which places obstacles in the way of joint actions with the Socialist workers. On the other hand, the united front, during election campaigns, has been wrongly interpreted to mean unprincipled election agreements, in which the face of the Party and its independent position have been distorted or hidden completely—concrete expressions of Right opportunism.

This summer the Federal election will take place. The Party must utilize this campaign to mobilize, behind its independent program, whole masses of workers. The Party, with its own candidates in the field, nevertheless comes forward with its proposals for unity based on the burning needs of the masses, calling for a united labor front against the new attacks of the bourgeoisie, winning support of these proposals even if the Socialist leaders are opposed to it.

The movement for unity among the masses can be judged from the anti-War Congress which took place last year, at which 337,000 were represented, despite the banning of the Congress as a "Communist maneuver" by the officials of the reformist movement. Extremely diverse elements were present, who, with the exception of Trotskyite disrupters, headed by MacDonald, former secretary of the C.P., unanimously endorsed a program of concrete activity against war and fascism.

Representative anti-war conferences exist in almost every town in the country, in the majority of which reformist trade-union and local Socialist workers and parliamentary representatives participate. The main weakness here is the inability, so far, to carry through practical actions against war preparations and fascization measures. We must be satisfied with calling reformist workers together with us in conferences, but we must become the best and most skilful organizers in carrying through united-front *actions* to a higher and more militant level.

The main guarantee for the building of the united front is a decided improvement in the daily mass work of the Party. We must establish the independent leadership of the Party over wider sections of the workers, unmasking the Socialist leaders, particularly explaining our policy to the Socialist workers in order to win them closer to our Party.

The Party has as the chief danger, Right opportunist lagging behind the masses, a failure to take advantage of the expanding radical moods of the masses, a pronounced tendency to hide the independent position of the Party in united-front actions and to cease active, practical exposure of the social-fascist leaders. Our Party in the course of build-

ing the united front of struggle on the basis of pressing, immediate needs of the masses, has still to learn how *in practice to politicalize the scattered economic struggles, and to link them up with the revolutionary way out of the crisis, with the central slogan of the Party, "For a Soviet Canada!"*

In answering the new attack of Premier Bennett, the Party has placed before the masses the following call to action:

> "Now, when Bennett is revealing in his speeches, more clearly than ever before, the earmarks of fascism, we raise the issue of the united front as the decisive question of the hour.
>
> "We call upon the C.C.F., the A. F. of L., and the A.C.C.L. (Canadian national unions) and all working class organizations to form united fronts on every battle line of the working people, against the new attacks of capital and for the immediate economic and political interests of the toiling people.
>
> "What are these decisive lines of the plan of the working people today? They are:
>
> "1. The united front of the entire labor movement, through the Congress on Social and Unemployment Insurance, to fight Bennett's starvation plans and organize the fight for genuine social and unemployment insurance at the expense of the capitalists and the government.
>
> "2. The united front of the trade unions in organizing the fight against starvation minimum wage scales and to initiate a wide strike movement for higher wages to meet the rising cost of living and to organize the unorganized workers.
>
> "3. The united front of the toiling farmers to fight for adequate relief and for special adequate drought relief, for exemption of the poor farmers from taxes, against seizures and foreclosures, and against the forced collection of rents and debts.
>
> "4. The united front of the entire labor movement in the League Against War and Fascism, to fight against Bennett's fascist deception and fascist measures of strengthened State power, for the defense of workers' rights and the abolition of Section 98 and against the war plans of Canadian imperialism."

Our Party has not paid sufficient attention to mobilizing the toiling farmers for struggle and establishing an alliance between them and the revolutionary workers. Strong opportunist tendencies manifesting themselves in our work among the farmers did not meet with the proper response from the Party. The Farmers' Unity League, organized in 1930, has not yet succeeded in emerging from its sectarian position. The Central Committee long since pointed out the danger of the Farmers' Unity League becoming a "farmers' party", and took steps to transform it into a broad organization of the toiling farmers for struggle.

A turn has been made in the direction of cementing unity between the Farmers' Unity League and the reformist farm organizations, with the establishment of a Farm Committee of Action at a fairly broad conference of toiling farmers in the summer of 1934. This committee, representative of many types of farming, is now commencing to mobilize mass conferences and hunger marches around the program of action embodying the needs of the toiling farmers, and a Farm Relief Bill.

Our Party failed until now to organize a powerful mass movement of farmers for special relief in the drought areas covering the southern portion of the prairie provinces, where 240,000 people are literally facing starvation. Government policy towards these people is so brutal that the

Party had a splendid opportunity of making the drought an issue of first class importance and to turn them into broad offensives against the bourgeoisie and its government. A beginning has been made with the calling of conferences in the drought areas.

A further weakness in farm work is the failure to extend the militant farm movement to the eastern provinces; primarily to Ontario and French-speaking Quebec, where the decisive section of the farm population is situated.

THE PARTY TODAY

Our Party today numbers 6,500 members, organized in over 700 units. Despite the fact that the Party has been declared illegal, it is appearing openly before the masses in various ways; for example, in election campaigns it comes forward with open Communist candidates, and speaks directly to the workers through the medium of public meetings, through leaflets and shop papers, and, to an increasing degree, in the legal press. The Party leadership characterizes the present period as a breathing space, won through the big mass movement against political reaction, which it has led. *The line of the Party is to utilize, to the full, the legal possibilities of the present period, bringing out the Party's face to the masses to an increased degree, extending its political mass work, while at the same time taking practical measures to safeguard its apparatus from police attack.* To ensure this, the Party apparatus is underground.

The Party organization has strengthened considerably since the bourgeois attack. Valuable experiences in the combination of legal with illegal work have been gained.

The central organizational task before the Party *is to root itself in the basic sections of the workers in the factories, shops and mines,* to improve the work of the basic units of the Party in order to be in a position to carry out the main political tasks set by the Party Congress, and to give daily aid to build the Y.C.L. into a really mass movement of the working class youth.

Our Party's task in the factories: Less than 100 shop groups exist, and the majority of these do not function as Bolshevik nuclei in the enterprises. The Political Bureau has established the most important industrial districts as concentration districts, to which special attention is being given.

To this end, a "Tim Buck Recruiting Campaign" is now launched, with the aim of bringing into the Party's ranks thousands of workers. To successfully accomplish this, the Party must improve the daily work of the units and Sections, particularly paying attention to the political education of the members, and in this manner overcome the large membership fluctuation which has marked our Party in the past.

Our Party has emerged from the first serious attack by the bourgeoisie with an improved organization, a larger and more experienced membership.

Our Party has taken to heart the words of Comrade Stalin to the effect that a correct political line is insufficient. "More than that," said Comrade Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., "after the correct political line has been given, the organizational work decides everything, including the fate of the political line itself, *i.e.*, its success or failure."

Our Party possesses numerous new cadres of workers who entered its ranks directly from the struggles led by the Party. The improvement of these comrades and their work, "finding the right man for the right job", is a central organizational problem of the Party. Most of these new comrades are developing as leaders of Party Sections (embracing several units in a definite territory). The recent Central Committee plenum decided to pay special attention to the development of these comrades, and the strengthening of a *serious weak spot in the Party organization, the Section leadership.*

Our Party has also trained a number of trade-union cadres, who are occupied in the revolutionary unions and opposition work in the reformist unions. Serious tendencies to stereotyped leadership by these comrades must be checked. Our Party has placed its finger on a tendency to "trade unionism" in the work of these comrades—a tendency to look upon their trade-union work as divorced from the "political" work of the Party. This opportunist position must be sharply combated.

Our Party has always been largely of foreign-born composition. Great strides have been made to improve its national as well as social composition. Although the majority of the Party today is still composed of immigrant workers, the scale is turning in favor of the native Anglo-Saxon and French-Canadian workers, of whom increasing numbers are joining our ranks.

The Party is making its first serious efforts to establish a base among the French-Canadian masses in Quebec, the most exploited section of the Canadian proletariat. We can now point, due to concentration work led by the Political Bureau, to a growing mass movement among the French-Canadian workers, and the existence, for the first time, of a serious Party organization. Our Party has set itself the task of overcoming its isolation from the French-Canadian masses by the development of a mass, popular French paper, the formulation of special demands, the provision of special cadres, and a general orientation to the problems of the French-Canadian masses.

In the fight against isolation from the masses the Party must strive with added zeal to become a Party of the native working class.

Our Party's agitational work has been weak, with the exception of the development of the press. The central legal organ, with an average 14,000 circulation, is now to be issued three times weekly. *The Party has placed as a central task the publication of the legal organ as a* DAILY *paper in* 1935. *This can be achieved.* Our Party must seek to develop special forms of agitation among the workers, and to overcome this outstanding political weakness.

Possessing a firm, united leadership, substituting living, personal leadership for stereotyped directives, aware of the needs of the moment, and with rich experiences to guide it, our Party can and will, in a short time, become a mass Party of the revolutionary Canadian workers.

Our Party has a correct political line. It represents among the Canadian working class the revolutionary mass policy of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. The central task of our Party is to increase tenfold its energy in putting its policy into practice, and of permeating every working class home with the precepts of struggle for Communism, for a Soviet Canada.

Some Problems of Fascism

By R. PALME DUTT

THE phenomenon of fascism has now developed for 16 years since the original formation of the Milan "Fascio di Combattimento" in 1919, and for 13 years since the first fascist accession to power in Italy. The first wave of fascism, following on the post-war revolutionary wave and preceding the period of partial stabilization, has been succeeded by the very much wider and further-reaching second wave, following on the breakdown of stabilization and preceding the second world revolutionary wave. The conditions of these two waves are profoundly different; fascism has gone through a very considerable development during this period; and the working class has also gone through a profound development in the experience of the struggle. The Sixth Congress of the Communist International in 1928 dealt with fascism on the basis of the experience of the first wave and its aftermath (including the Polish coup of 1926). Today the Seventh Congress will need to carry forward the treatment of fascism on the basis of the conditions of the second wave, and the basis of the enormous experience of 1928-35, and in relation to the problems of the gathering, new, world revolutionary epoch.

I. THE DEFINITION OF FASCISM

Fascism has widened and deepened its character and significance as a world phenomenon in the development of post-war capitalism from 1922 to 1935. In the early period after the war, during the first world revolutionary wave, bourgeois-democracy, with the accompanying special mechanism of Social-Democracy, appeared as the main savior of capitalism in the leading countries, as "the last anchor of salvation" of the entire reaction, in the phrase of Engels' letter to Bebel in 1884:

> "Pure democracy may acquire for a short time a temporary importance at the moment of the revolution, in the role of the last anchor of salvation of the entire bourgeois, even feudal economy. . . . Both during the crisis and the day after it our only adversary will be the entire reactionary mass grouped around pure democracy." (Engels, letter to Bebel, December 11, 1884.)

This prediction was realized with startling completeness in the years 1917-1921. Fascism during this period appeared as a subsidiary auxiliary or alternative weapon of the bourgeoisie, of importance mainly in the less developed countries.

Today this situation has changed. It would not be correct to say that Engels' analysis is no longer applicable to modern capitalism; on the contrary, the development of the new world revolutionary epoch to its most intense point, with the crashing of the fascist dictatorships, may yet reveal once again for a short moment the same picture. But in the present period, in the period of the maturing revolutionary crisis, the face of capitalism is profoundly changed. The old "classic" bourgeois-democracy no longer survives intact in any country, the increasingly restricted remains of it, in a dwindling number of countries, have become the shell of a process of fascization. Despite the great differences of conditions in the different countries, and the differences of degree in

development towards fascist characteristics, fascism appears today as a *universal* tendency of the present stage of modern monopoly capitalism in all imperialist countries, not only in the countries of open fascist dictatorship, but also in the countries of bourgeois-democracy. Following on the world economic crisis and the shattering of capitalist stabilization, *fascism is revealed today as the dominant and most typical characteristic tendency of modern monopoly capitalism in the present stage of the general crisis, of intensified contradictions and of the menacing proletarian revolution.*

The treatment of fascism by the Communist International in the various theses and resolutions has developed step by step with the development of fascism since its inception. Four main stages of periods in this treatment may be distinguished:

1. The preliminary analysis, on the basis of the first wave of fascism, from 1921 to the Sixth Congress.
2. The main definition in the Sixth Congress Theses and Program.
3. The extended working out of the character of fascism, on the basis of the second wave following on the shattering of stabilization, and the question of social-fascism, from the Tenth to the Twelfth Plenums, 1929-32.
4. The final statement to date, following the Hitler dictatorship, at the Thirteenth Plenum, 1933.

It is important at the outset (above all in order to prevent unnecessary discussion of points already cleared) to review briefly what this step by step development of the line has already established and successfully demonstrated, in order to define more sharply the task of the Seventh Congress, *i.e.*, what is the new ground which requires to be covered by the Seventh Congress in order, not only to draw together the treatment in the light of our present very much fuller knowledge, but also to bring it up-to-date in relation to the present stage of fascism and its future perspectives.

The first treatment of fascism in the Theses of the Communist International was at the Third Congress in 1921. The Third Congress Theses on Tactics noted the development of

> ". . . legal and semi-legal, though State protected white-guard organizations. . . . In Italy it is the Fascisti whose depredations affected a change in the mood of the bourgeoisie, giving the appearance of a complete change in the respective strength of the contending political forces."

With the Fascisti are compared the Orgesch in Germany, the Union Civique in France, the Defense Corps in England and the American Legion in the United States. The Communists are urged to rally

> ". . . the best and most active among the workers to create their own labor legions and militant organizations which will resist the fascists and teach the 'golden youth' of the bourgeoisie a wholesome lesson."

This is the first, most elementary impact of fascism upon the working class movement, *i.e.*, as the extra-State, but State protected, militant organizations of the bourgeoisie for guerilla warfare on the working class vanguard.

The Fourth Congress in 1922 was already faced with the advent

of fascism to power in Italy. The lessons of this were drawn in the *Address to Italian Workers*, which laid bare the role of reformism in surrendering the initiative to the reaction, and the significance of the bourgeoisie themselves establishing that open dictatorship which the workers' leaders had hesitated to set up and trampling underfoot the forms of bourgeois-democracy and law and order—"those false gods which the weak leaders of Italian Socialism worshipped". The Fourth Congress Theses on Tactics already drew the *universal* significance of the Italian experience for all countries:

> "The salient features of the Italian fascism—that 'classical' fascism which has now taken possession of that country for some time—consist in the fact that the fascists, not content with establishing their own counter-revolutionary militant organizations armed to the teeth, seek also to gain ground by social-demagogy, among the masses and the peasantry, among the lower bourgeoisie, and even among certain elements of the working class, in order to make use of the general disappointment with so-called democracy.
>
> "The menace of fascism lurks today in many countries—in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in nearly all the Balkan countries, in Poland, in Germany, in Austria and America and even in countries like Norway. Fascism in one form or another is not altogether impossible even in countries like France and England." (*Fourth Congress Theses on Tactics.*)

It is noticeable that already in 1922, within the first weeks of the fascist accession to power in Italy, the Communist International clearly outlined the perspective: 1, that Italian fascism was likely to hold power "for some time"; 2, that Italian fascism was likely to prove a "classic" type; 3, that the menace of fascism applied to all imperialist countries without exception, including the most "advanced" "democratic" countries. At that time reformism was without exception declaring: 1, that the fascist "adventure" in Italy would immediately collapse; 2, that fascism was an "exceptional" "backward" "purely Italian" phenomenon; 3, that fascism could have no significance for "advanced" "democratic" industrial countries. Even as late as 1928 the Second International at its Brussels Congress was still declaring that fascism could only develop in "backward" "agrarian" countries and not in "advanced" "industrial" countries. Only in 1931 at its Vienna Congress the Second International was compelled to place on record that its previous view had been incorrect. Looking back, we can take a justifiable pride in the leadership of the Communist International, which thus already in 1922 gave with complete correctness the essential line with regard to fascism for the whole future epoch.

The 1923 Plenum, faced with the Bulgarian coup following on the Italian, gave detailed attention to the question of fascism. In its discussions are to be found the most comprehensive treatment of the question of fascism (in particular, of its social roots, also the exposure of its contradictions), on the basis of the first fascist wave.

The main characteristics of fascism, signalized by the Communist International on the basis of the first fascist wave, in the period up to the Sixth Congress, may be shortly summarized under the following heads:

> 1. Fascism is a phenomenon of the *disintegration* of bourgeois economy and of the old State forms.
>
> 2. The *social roots* of fascism in the impoverishment and

disillusionment of the petty bourgeoisie, small peasantry, intellectuals and declassed strata, also backward sections of the workers, consequent on the failure of reformism and the parliamentary system to meet the needs of these.

3. Inadequacy of the old mechanism of the State bureaucracy and armed forces to maintain the bourgeois dictatorship; organization of new *extra-State, semi-legal formations* to conduct destructive warfare on the working class organizations.

4. *Destruction of bourgeois-democratic forms.*

5. The distinctive characteristic of fascism as the combination of social-demagogy, utilized to organize a *special mass basis*, with counter-revolutionary terrorism.

6. Responsibility of *reformism* for the development of fascism ("the real forerunner of fascism was reformism", Resolution of the Italian Commission, Fourth Congress).

7. The menace of fascism as *applicable to all the imperialist countries.*

To these characteristics the Fifth Congress in 1924 added for the first time the point of the *parallel* character of Social-Democracy and fascism as parallel weapons of the bourgeoisie in the current period.

> "The Social-Democrats from the Right wing of the Labor movement are in a process of transition and more and more becoming converted into the 'Left' wing of the bourgeoisie, and in places into a wing of fascism. This is the reason it is historically incorrect to speak of the 'victory of fascism over Social-Democracy. Fascism and Social-Democracy (insofar as their leaders are concerned) are the right and left hands of modern capitalism." (*Fifth Congress, Theses on Tactics* 3.)

This was the first formulation (following the line of Stalin's article earlier in 1924) of the signs of the new development of Social-Democracy towards social-fascism.

The Sixth Congress in 1928 drew together the results of the experience and analysis up to that date, both in its theses and above all in the International Program, into what still constitutes today the principal comprehensive Communist definition of fascism and its characteristics (*Theses on the International Situation,* No. 24, and Program, 2, 3). Fascism was now definitely defined as the "terrorist dictatorship of Big Capital" (in 1922 the Fourth Congress, in the address to the Italian workers, had still described the fascists, not incorrectly for that stage, as "international adventurers, without a definite program and definite ideals, without firm and united class basis"), specifically characterized by "the combination of social-demagogy, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics". The peculiar "characteristic feature" of fascism lay in its organization of "a reactionary mass movement".

The new features brought out by the Sixth Congress covered principally:

1. The attempt of fascism to organize "a new type of State"; its attempt "to establish political and organizational unity among all the governing classes of capitalist society" (*International Situation,* No. 24).

2. The "increasing application of fascist methods by the bourgeoisie" also in countries not under fascist dictatorship, *e.g.,* the Trade Union Act in Britain and the Paul-Boncour Military Law in France (*ibid.,* 16).

3. The increasing parallelism, both of theory and practice, of Social-Democracy and fascism:

> "The ideology of class cooperation—the official ideology of Social-Democracy—has many points of contact with fascism. The employment of fascist methods in the struggle against the revolutionary movement is observed in a rudimentary form in the practice of many Social-Democratic Parties, as well as in that of the reformist trade-union bureaucracy." (*Ibid.*, 24.)
>
> "The bourgeoisie resorts either to the method of fascism or to the method of coalition with Social-Democracy, according to the changes in the political situation; while Social-Democracy itself often plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism. In the process of development Social-Democracy reveals fascist tendencies." (Program 2, 3).

The new period after the Sixth Congress, already foreshadowed by the Sixth Congress, marked by the shattering of capitalist stabilization, and opening in 1929 with the world economic crisis and the beginning of the second fascist wave, was to see, not only the intensive development of the main basic features of fascism, already noted (illustrated anew on a very much greater scale in the advance of the Nazis to power), but also the *qualitatively new* and very far-reaching extension of the new features, first briefly indicated by the Sixth Congress, *i.e.*:

1. The "increasing application of fascist methods by the bourgeoisie" in all countries, also in countries of still formal bourgeois-democracy, through an amazing variety of transitional and partial forms (Brüning, Von Papen, National Government, Roosevelt, etc.), necessitating a very great widening of the whole understanding of fascism and of the path of the transition to fascism.

2. The increasing approximation of the central staffs of Social-Democracy to fascist or semi-fascist conceptions and ideology (theories of organized capitalism, Mondism, drawing together of the labor bureaucracy and State apparatus) and utilization of methods analogous to fascist methods (war on revolutionary section of the working class movement by coercion and corruption, Berlin May Day shooting, Labor Government's role).

The problems represented by these phenomena of the new stage above all occupied the attention of the Tenth Plenum, the Eleventh Plenum and the Twelfth Plenum from 1929 to 1932. In consequence, the all-important work accomplished by these conferences in the sphere of the questions of fascism covered two main and associated groups of problems.

1. The process of *fascization*, and the relationship of bourgeois-democracy and fascism. The manifold development towards fascism in all countries, at an increasing speed and under all types of outer State forms, made it urgently necessary to destroy the remains of the abstract liberal counterposing of bourgeois-democracy and fascism as absolute opposites, separated by a supposedly rigid barrier; since this view, inculcated by Social-Democracy, led to the passive looking to the question of a future "coup" as the sole question of fascism, and in consequence inevitably to the "theory of the lesser evil", *i.e.*, the actual support of the encroaching fascist offensive in the name of the defense of bourgeois-democracy. Against this view it was necessary to awaken the workers to the present struggle against the already continuously developing fascist offensive, and to the decisive role of this present mass struggle as determining the development or otherwise of the future fascist "coup" and completed fascist dictatorship. These very difficult questions were cleared above all at the Eleventh Plenum in 1931, and the correctness of this line, as against the line of Social-Democracy, was fully confirmed by

the development in Germany, stage by stage, to Hitler, as also in the later Austrian example.

2. The problems of *social-fascism*. It was urgently necessary to awaken the workers from being drawn unconsciously into the stream towards fascism, through their faith in Social-Democracy as the supposed "opponent" of fascism, when in reality Social-Democracy was assisting in its own fashion the development towards fascism and the fascization of the State. The theory of social-fascism (first developed explicitly at the Tenth Plenum in 1929) placed this issue in the sharpest possible form, and, despite some confusions and errors in its current propagandist use in the various countries, achieved an important purpose in awakening a growing body of workers to the role of Social-Democracy in directly assisting the fascist offensive.

The advent of Hitler to power in Germany, in 1933, brought the whole issue of fascism on a world scale to a new stage. Here for the first time was demonstrated, with damning completeness, the final working out (where Social-Democracy succeeds in paralyzing the workers' action) of the process of fascization in an advanced industrial "democratic" country to its ultimate outcome in the open terrorist fascist dictatorship, throwing aside the last remnants of the old decayed bourgeois-democratic forms and openly setting itself the aim to exterminate physically the working class movement. The fascist offensive took on new energy in every country, at the same time as a widespread working class anti-fascist awakening took place.

The Thirteenth Plenum, at the end of 1933, had to review this situation, ratified the Presidium April resolution on Germany, and issued its definition of fascism as "the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinist and most imperialist elements of finance capital". The Thirteenth Plenum further related the extension of fascism, and its coming to power in Germany, to the gathering revolutionary crisis; it drew the significance of the growth of fascism as indicating the growth of the revolutionary crisis and mass revolt, the failure of the old bourgeois-democratic forms to serve the purpose of the bourgeois dictatorship either for internal politics or for foreign politics, and the close connection of the development to fascism with the direct preparation of the future imperialist war. At the same time the fallacies of the "inevitability" of fascism, and of the opening of a "fasicst epoch" had to be combated; the Thirteenth Plenum showed how fascism simultaneously hastens and hinders the revolutionary advance, how it represents at the same time the strongest offensive of the bourgeoisie, and at the same time reveals the weakening and growing instability of the bourgeoisie.

Since then, a whole further development has taken place, with the landmark of June 30 in Germany and the narrowing of the mass basis in the countries of completed fascist dictatorship, with the events in Austria, France and Spain, with the growing resistance of the working class and advance of the united front, with the signs of a check in the upward economic movement of 1933-34, with the increasingly difficult positions of the National Government in Britain and the Roosevelt dictatorship, and with the intensified preparations for imperialist war.

At the Seventh Congress it will be necessary to draw together this whole development in a fresh survey of the present stage and development of fascism, utilizing the work that has already been accomplished in the successive Plenum discussions since the Sixth Congress, and at the same time bringing in what is newly developing.

II. NEW QUESTIONS

The Thirteenth Plenum definition of fascism, which remains our weapon for the current movement, achieved an important purpose in stating in the sharpest possible terms the reactionary terrorist significance of fascism. Nevertheless, we cannot be satisfied to rest simply upon the basis of this definition for the purposes of the Seventh Congress which will need to achieve a more comprehensive review.

The existing definition, in stressing the character of fascism as a reactionary terrorist dictatorship of finance capital does not bring out with equal clearness the essential *differentia* of fascism from counter-revolutionary dictatorship and white-guard dictatorship in general. If this distinctive character is not sharply brought out, it inevitably gives rise to the danger of the frequent loose use of "fascism" in our press to describe any and every reactionary phenomenon all over the world without distinction, with the consequences of blurring the serious understanding of fascism by the workers, who come to regard our use of the term as a catchword for all phenomena and activities of capitalism and capitalist governments in the present period. The distinctive character of fascism does not lie in the degree of its reaction, terrorism or chauvinism, but in its *special social political mechanism* for sustaining this terrorism, *i.e.*, in its special system of social-demagogy for building a "reactionary mass movement" (Sixth Congress) on the basis of the general crisis of capitalism, of the impoverishment and disillusionment of the petty bourgeoisie and other strata, and of the disillusionment with reformism. Despite the destruction of bourgeois-democratic forms, the finance capitalist oligarchy cannot simply revert to pre-democratic (pre-capitalist) forms, but is on the contrary compelled to employ still more complicated forms of mass deception, alongside intensified terrorism, in order to maintain its rule. This is the distinctive character of fascism which differentiates it from other forms of counter-revolutionary dictatorship. The Thirteenth Plenum resolution in fact, fully recognizes this character, and proceeds immediately after the definition, to deal with the question of the "mass basis". This question, however, cannot be treated as subsidiary; it must be brought directly into the essential definition of fascism, if we are to understand correctly the conditions of the fight against fascism. Just herein we differ from the liberal reformist Social-Democratic conception, which sees in fascism only terrorism, only destruction of bourgeois-democracy and law and order, instead of its real character as the carrying forward, by the bourgeois dictatorship, of its methods of mass rule by combined coercion and deception, already demonstrated in an earlier form in bourgeois democracy, to an extreme stage of both aspects in fascism, that is, in the period of closely menacing proletarian revolution—endeavoring to utilize the very sentiments of mass revolt against its system in order to distort them to the opposite outcome.

> "The fascist system is a system of direct dictatorship *ideologically masked* by the 'national' idea. . . . It is a system that resorts to a peculiar form of *social-demagogy* . . . the *combination* of social-demagogy, corruption and active white terror, in conjunction with extreme imperialist aggression in the sphere of foreign politics, are the characteristic features of fascism." (*International Program*).

It is from just this character of fascism that arise the *contradictions* of fascism, which provide the conditions for successfully fighting fascism.

What are the essential *new features* of fascism which it is important to bring out at the Seventh Congress?

First, it is essential to *deepen the treatment of the economic basis of fascism.* In the first wave of fascism, preceding the partial stabilization of capitalism, the fascist weapon was essentially the weapon of the bourgeoisie in certain special conditions to defeat and throttle the class struggle of the proletariat, in order to provide the conditions for the successful restoration of *"normal"* capitalism. But since the world economic crisis this situation is changed. The second wave of fascism reflects a far-reaching difference of the underlying economic conditions. The conditions of the old "normal" capitalism are today recognized by the capitalists themselves to have vanished.

It might even be said that capitalism has now *consciously* entered on the reversal of its ascending role (a reversal already implicit in the whole imperialist epoch as the epoch of capitalism in decay), *i.e.*, —the organized restriction of production and throttling of productive advance, cutting down of international trade in the intensified fight for the dwindling markets, acceptance of chronic large scale unemployment as a permanent phenomenon, and adjustment to a lowered standard of living for the masses. This changed economic situation of the deepened general crisis of capitalism, generating intensified class struggle and mass discontent, tends to require a different political mechanism for the bourgeois dictatorship from the old reformist-democratic mechanism, based on continuous concessions to buy off the revolt of the masses. Fascism is above all the most characteristic political expression of this stage, of this phase of the culminating processes of imperialist decay. *Fascism is, in the ultimate analysis, the attempted organization of capitalist decay.* It attempts *forcibly to overcome the intensified contradictions of capitalism*—both the contradictions of the class struggle reaching to the point of revolution, the economic contradictions of the gigantically increased productive power pressing against the narrow shell of capitalist relations, and the political contradictions of the internal divisions of the bourgeoisie within each State, expressed in the old style Party fight. Herein lies the significance of its ideology of "totalitarianism".

This is the deeper character of fascism which underlies, not only the policies of a Hitler and a Mussolini, but also can be traced in characteristically different forms in the policies of a Roosevelt, a MacDonald or an Elliot. For this reason not only the growth and extension of the open fascist dictatorships, not only the intensified dictatorship and special measures against the working class and restrictions of the old "freedoms" in all countries, but also the new economic measures of intensified trade war and closed imperialist blocs, the drive to "national planning" and so-called "autarchy", the wholesale organized restriction of production and destruction of the means of production, are characteristic signs of the tendencies towards fascism in modern capitalism; and the intensified dictatorship, the regimenting of the population, by new methods of combined terrorism and demagogy, are ultimately the necessary political accompaniment of this process. The wealth of experience of this process, since the world economic crisis, enables the Seventh Congress to deal with this economic basis of fascism more fully and fundamentally than has yet been done.*

* For a more complete discussion of these underlying economic tendencies connected with fascism, as well as for more complete material on the whole subject, see *Fascism and Social Revolution,* published in 1934.

Second, it is essential to bring out and elaborate more fully the question of the special *mass basis* of fascism, and the political armory—the "*demagogy*"—whereby it is enabled to build up this mass basis. Our treatment of *fascist ideology* has hitherto tended to be summary. But the experience of the last few years has enormously enlarged the examples of the methods of fascist agitation and propaganda in widely varying conditions—the characteristic differences in the methods of adaptation of fascist ideology and propaganda, not only to the varying conditions of Italy and Germany, but to the still more widely varying conditions of Britain, France, the United States, etc.

Contrast, for example, the line of Nazi propaganda before power and of present British fascist propaganda. Nazi propaganda concentrated on the "national" or "racial" idea. British fascist propaganda has to concentrate on the "British Empire" conception (a forced combination of widely differing races under British dominion). Nazi propaganda drew its main source of agitation from the "Diktat" of Versailles, and placed this political fight in the foreground as underlying the economic issues. British fascist propaganda, placed in the different situation of a "victor" country, draws its main inspiration of agitation from the manifest extreme decline of British capitalism since the war, the decay of the basic industries, the "derelict areas", etc., and places in the forefront its *economic* program as the solution of British problems. Nazi propaganda, faced with a powerful and class-conscious working class, trained for half a century in the conceptions of Marxism, had to profess the nominal aim of "Socialism", while attacking "Marxism", and fascist propaganda attacks equally "Socialism" and "Marxism", and thus appears more openly as an extremist wing of Die-hard Conservatism (compare Rothermere's support of British fascism, as representing a powerful "party of the Right"—*Daily Mail*, Jan. 15, 1934). Nazi propaganda and fascist propaganda in all other European countries builds strongly on the upper and middle peasantry as one of the principal bases of support. In Britain, where agriculture, already capitalistically developed, occupies only seven per cent of the population, the appeal to the farmers, though important (compare the Tithe agitation), can only play a secondary part; and the main basis of appeal has to be the urban petty bourgeoisie, the rentier class, the parasitic occupations dependent on the wealthy class and a proportion of the professional and technical strata, alongside such of the unemployed and backward workers as can be won. In all these ways, while the principles of fascist propaganda remain the same in all countries (playing on the grievances of the intermediate and lower strata for the benefit of finance capital), the contents differ according to the concrete conditions and social composition of the population in each country.

Third, it is necessary to analyze, more fully, the *diversity of the process of fascization*, as now developing through many forms in all imperialist countries. The old mistaken reformist view of fascism as a phenomenon of backward, semi-agrarian countries has now been more than ever disproved by events. On the other hand, the development towards fascism in advanced industrial countries, with a powerful organized working-class movement, takes on peculiar forms and has to go through very complicated maneuvers, in order that the significance of the process in its earlier stages shall be concealed from the mass of the workers or even be disguised in the form of the fight against fascism for the defense of the existing "democratic" institutions. This question, and the laying bare of the significance of these half stages, become the main question of fascism at the present stage in all the bourgeois-democratic countries.

These questions will be considered further in the next section on " 'Fascization', 'Semi-fascization', 'Semi-fascism' and 'Pre-fascism' ".

Fourth, in connection with this widening of the process of fascization on a world scale, we shall have to deal more fully with the question of *fascism and the colonial countries*, in the light of certain developments of the most recent period, such as the "Blue Shirt" movement of Chiang Kai-shek in China, the "Blue Shirts" of General O'Duffy in Ireland, the tendencies of certain sections of the Indian national bourgeoisie (compare Subhas Bose's recently issued book on *The Indian Struggle*) to open sympathy with fascism, etc. Hitherto we have taken the view, and with basic correctness, that fascism cannot develop in colonial countries. As typical of our view we may take the expression of Comrade Manuilsky at the Tenth Plenum:

> "In the colonies which will stand before the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it is not, I think, possible to speak of fascism. Despite the existence of isolated capitalist factories of the latest type, pre-capitalist relations are dominant; these, and not highly developed capitalism, are typical for the colonies. In China it is the bourgeois-feudal counter-revolution that rages, and not fascism." (*Tenth Plenum Protocol*, German text, p. 583.)

While this view remains in principle correct, we have now to take into account the significance of recent developments, revealing the influence of the world development of fascism on the methods of the counter-revolution in colonial countries. Fascism is the weapon of finance capital. But in the colonies and semi-colonial countries the power of finance capital is represented by foreign imperialism, which finds itself in opposition, not only to the masses of the population, but also in a certain variable degree of contradiction to the national bourgeoisie. Thus the conditions are not present for a mass movement of fascism to maintain the power of finance capital. Under what conditions, then, can phenomena of a "fascist" type arise in these countries, such as the "Blue Shirts" in China or Ireland? Clearly, only at that point when the inner class antagonisms and advance of the proletariat and peasantry have reached such a stage that the national bourgeoisie, or a considerable section of it, moves to an open counter-revolutionary role in the service of foreign imperialism, and in consequence, in the fight against the mass of the population, seeks to build up "fascist" formations, essentially in the service of foreign imperialism. Chiang Kai-shek, representing at once the leader of the bourgeois-feudal reaction and the agent of foreign imperialism, seeks to build up his "Blue Shirts" against Communism and against the national revolutionary struggle. O'Duffy, representing the minority section of the Irish bourgeoisie, (Cosgrave) which does not follow De Valera but is closely allied to British imperialism, seeks to build up the "Blue Shirts" in Ireland as an attempted basis of support in the interests of British imperialism. These developments, however, can take no deep root in the given conditions, and bear only a very limited analogy to fascism in the imperialist countries.

Fifth, it will be necessary to come to the new questions of the relations of *Social-Democracy and fascism*, consequent on the destruction of the old Social-Democratic Parties in Germany and Austria and development of new groups and formations, the crisis of Social-Democracy within the Second International, and the wide range of tendencies now

revealed. These questions will be considered further in a subsequent section.

Sixth, the question of the "*middle classes*" or intermediate strata, now becomes of burning urgency in relation to fascism. While the basic correctness of the Marxist analysis of the role of the middle classes, as only able to play an auxiliary role either to the ruling bourgeoisie or to the proletariat, is more than ever confirmed by the experiences of fascism and of the fight against fascism (in contradistinction to the Social-Democratic theory of fascism as the "independent movement of the middle class" or "middle class dictatorship"), we need now to give the closest and most careful attention to (1) the new "*crisis of the middle class*", consequent on the world economic crisis and the depression, which have provided a powerful part of the impetus for the second fascist wave; (2) our tactics and propaganda in relation to the middle class, to counteract or neutralize the support of fascism and win over the widest proportion as allies for the proletariat (significance of the broad anti-fascist and anti-war movements of the Amsterdam-Pleyel type), as well as self-criticism of previous mistakes in approach and propaganda to the middle classes, their special demands and ideology, or underestimation of their role (tendencies still sometimes visible of a contemptuous attitude towards, or neglect of, broad "mixed" movements of the Amsterdam-Pleyel type).

Seventh, the *contradictions* of fascism after its accession to power can now be more sharply brought out in the light of the developments of the two years since Hitler's coming to power; in the sphere of internal affairs, the economic dilemmas and the instability of the emergency expedients to overcome them, and the narrowing mass basis and loss of former petty-bourgeois supporters; in the sphere of foreign affairs, the extreme concentration on the preparation of the gamble of war, and the sharp conflicts already demonstrated between fascist Germany and fascist Austria, between fascist Germany and fascist Italy, etc. In particular, the close and direct connection of fascism with the *preparation and organization of the new imperialist war*, needs to be strongly brought into the forefront at the present stage.

Finally, we shall need to deal as fully as possible with the future *perspective of fascism*, as we see it; in particular:

1. The prospects of the second wave of fascism in relation to the development of the world economic situation, the worsening conditions in the separate countries, the advance to war, the sharpening of class antagonisms and the signs of the beginning of a crisis of fascism;

2. The fallacy of the liberal reformist view of the "epoch of fascism";

3. The fallacy of the view of the "inevitability" of fascism in all countries; on the contrary, the demonstration during the past two years of the international working class increasingly learning from the experience in each country and beginning to rise to the height of the struggle (ascending scale of struggle in Germany, Austria, Spain), the advance of the united front, and the possibility of preventing fascism from developing in the countries where it has not yet established its dictatorship;

4. The conditions of the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship in the countries where it is established, through the development of the mass struggle; the warning as to the possibility of the revival of bourgeois-democratic illusions (possible revival of Social-Democracy); and the necessity of placing in the forefront the goal of the proletarian dicta-

torship as the only decisive and finally victorious alternative to fascism and guarantee against fascism.

III. "FASCIZATION", "SEMI-FASCISM" AND "PRE-FASCISM"

One of the outstanding characteristics of the second wave of fascism, developing since the world economic crisis, has been the enormous elaboration of the technique of fascist dictatorship and of the advance to fascism, and, in particular, the development of a manifold and extending variety of "*between-stages*" on the road to the completed fascist dictatorship. The formal barriers between bourgeois democracy and fascism have been worn increasingly thin by this process (at what point did Dollfuss, the widely acclaimed "champion of democracy" in Europe, became Dollfuss, fascist dictator?) which has extended in greater or lesser degree to all imperialist countries.

This process corresponds necessarily to the wider and *universal* character of the second fascist wave, in contradistinction to the first. The first fascist wave affected only certain countries strongly, and the remaining countries only slightly or not at all (hence the liberal reformist illusions at the time as to the "backward" or "Italian" character of fascism). The second fascist wave has affected all imperialist countries in greater or lesser degree. In particular, it has been marked by the extension to advanced industrial countries with a high degree of working-class organization. But the conditions for its extension in countries of this type necessarily differ from the conditions in countries of the earlier type. On the one hand, the completed fascist dictatorship, once established has to act with far greater speed to consolidate its power and endeavor to smash all working-class organization (contrast the relative slowness of the evolution of the Italian fascist dictatorship to its completed form between 1922 and 1926, and the extreme speed of the Hitler dictatorship in immediately setting up its terror and striking at all working-class organization). On the other hand, if the final stage is thus carried through with greater rapidity, the preparation and process leading up to this final stage is far longer and more complicated, because of the intricate initial maneuvers required to transform bourgeois democracy from within and to lull the opposition of the working class. Hence arises the characteristic new phenomenon of *fascization*, of an enormous variety of *partial and preparatory stages towards complete fascism*, developing in widely different forms in many countries—a phenomenon of which only the first signs and indications were visible at the time of the Sixth Congress.

The Mussolini fascist dictatorship in Italy was preceded by the interim process of the Giolitti and Faota regimes, with the formal maintenance of parliamentarism and actual State assistance to the fascist forces and their guerilla warfare on the working-class organizations and property. But Hitler-fascism in Germany had to be preceded by the far more complicated process of the Bruening, Papen and Schleicher emergency regimes, supported by Social-Democracy as the "lesser evil" supposedly "against the menace of fascism", and in reality intensifying the bourgeois dictatorship in every field and paving the way for Hitler. The classic Bruening model was next repeated in foreshortened order by Dollfuss, who took on himself to fulfill in one person successively the roles of Bruening and of Hitler. Still further, in the Western imperialist countries with the longest established and rooted parliamentary democratic forms, an even more complicated process of advance towards fascist forms began, illustrated by the National Government in Britain, the

Roosevelt emergency dictatorship in the United States, and the unsuccessful Doumergue National Concentration Government in France, while a different and more direct type, developing within a process of revolution, was revealed by the Lerroux-Robles dictatorship in Spain.

How are we to characterize these manifold and varied "between-stages"? At what point does the intensified dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and gradual restriction of the older parliamentary democratic forms by new emergency forms, become definitely fascist dictatorship? There is no Chinese wall, and to dispute on rigidly fixed terms in relation to what is a dialectical process is nothing but barren scholasticism. Nevertheless a distinction of a definite importance of degree can be made and is necessary. The essential answer to this question was given already by the Sixth Congress definition of fascism, which declared (*International Program*) that "the principal aim of fascism is to destroy the revolutionary labor vanguard, *i.e.*, the Communist sections and leading units of the proletariat". This is the decisive characteristic of the completed fascist dictatorship, as demonstrated most fully in Germany and Italy. In the partial stages of the Bruening type the advance has not yet been made to the formal suppression and war of annihilation against the revolutionary working-class organizations.

In the early stages of these transitional processes, there was revealed a certain degree of confusion in terminology in our propaganda expression, which led to the frequent application of the term "fascist dictatorship", without reservation, to these transitional stages, thus blurring the sharpness of the issue in front with regard to the culminating stage of the completed fascist dictatorship. This tendency was in fact specifically corrected by the E.C.C.I., in relation to the Bruening dictatorship in December, 1930. The *Rote Fahne* of December 2, 1930, had written:

> "The semi-fascist Bruening Government has taken a determined step on the road towards the establishment of fascist dictatorship in Germany. The fascist dictatorship is no longer a menace—it is a fact. We are living now in a fascist republic. The Bruening Cabinet has become a fascist dictatorship."

On this the E.C.C.I. issued the correction:

> "The estimate given in the *Rote Fahne* of December 2 and 3, to the effect that a fascist dictatorship already exists in Germany is politically incorrect. The Emergency Decrees issued with the support of Social-Democracy and the reformist trade unions against the toilers represent a step on the road to the establishment of a fascist dictatorship, but is not yet a decisive step. That depends upon the power of resistance of the working class."

The subsequent development in Germany has fully confirmed the correctness of this analysis. Similarly, at the Twelfth Plenum, Comrade Kuusinen in his report, referring to the Papen dictatorship, declared:

> "It would be incorrect to assert that the present regime in Germany constitutes a full and complete fascist dictatorship. This question with regard to the final setting up of a fascist dictatorship is not yet determined in Germany. The decisive struggles have not yet come to pass."

At the same time the Papen and Schleicher Governments were

widely referred to as "fascist dictatorship" without reservation. Thus, at the Twelfth Plenum, Comrade Piatnitsky, after quoting the above mentioned correction of the International Executive against describing the Bruening dictatorship as a fascist dictatorship, proceeded shortly after in the same speech to speak of "Papen's Government of fascist dictatorship". The Presidium Resolution on Germany in April, 1933, makes the distinction between "the fascist dictatorship in the shape of the Papen and Schleicher Governments" and the "open fascist dictatorship" of Hitler. With this may be compared the statement in Comrade Pieck's report to the Thirteenth Plenum, quoting Comrade Thaelmann's declaration to the Hamburg District Party Congress in December, 1932, that "with the constitution of the Schleicher Cabinet we are entering upon a new and accentuated stage of the fascist dictatorship". The analysis here is essentially correct. But the danger of its reflection in our local press may be noted in the editorial of the London *Daily Worker* on January 31, 1933, on the advent of Hitler to power:

> "This is the new government of fascist concentration. A fascist dictatorship already existed in Germany. But the new government means a sharpening of that dictatorship."

Here the decisive significance of the advent of Hitler or open fascism to power in Germany, in place of the previous governments of bourgeois preparation of fascism without the participation of the open fascist party, as constituting a landmark and vital issue for the whole international movement, is only weakly presented under the expression of "sharpening" of the "already existing" fascist dictatorship (*i.e.*, precisely the same description as was already applied to the transition from Papen to Schleicher). The loose universal use of "fascist dictatorship" to describe all the stages, has led to the danger of a weakening of the vision of the decisive character of the issue at the most critical point of the struggle.

The formal contradiction between the two conceptions or stages of fascist dictatorship, both described under the same term, or between "fascist dictatorship" and "open" or "completed fascist dictatorship", is not basically a contradiction. Essentially, these governments represent successive stages of a *developing fascist dictatorship*. Nevertheless, it may be valuable, for greater clearness in the future, to distinguish more definitely between the two types or stages (always with the provision that the border-line is not necessarily a sharp one), and to make a regular practice, as is already often done, of referring to the transitional stages as "*semi-fascism*", "*Pre-fascism*", "*veiled fascism*", etc., rather than as "fascist dictatorship" without reservation. This is especially important because of the danger, otherwise, of blurring the significance of the final and decisive stage of the struggle.

There are in fact two dangers needed to be guarded against. One is the danger, already mentioned, of in such a way emphasizing the character of the given transitional stage as already fascist dictatorship, that the continual reiteration, instead of sharply awakening the workers to the struggle, as intended, may have the opposite effect of lowering the understanding of the serious issue of fascism into a catchword for reaction in general, and weakening the sharp alertness of the workers at the most critical point of the struggle when the open fascist dictatorship is for the first time attempted to be established. The other is the danger, most grossly expressed in the line of Social-Democratic propaganda, of fixing the attention on the menace of fascism as solely the menace of a future "coup", and, in consequence, denying or minimizing

the significance of the actual growth towards fascism taking place within the forms of bourgeois democracy (in the case of the traditional Social-Democratic line, even supporting this process as the supposed "lesser evil" against fascism), and thus in fact weakening the all-important present struggle against the fascist offensive, although this present struggle is decisive as to whether the future final stage will arrive or not.

Both these dangers, not only in their gross form, but even in a modified form, need to be guarded against. With extreme soberness, without exaggeration, we need to show the steadily growing fascist tendencies in the present transitional regimes in the various countries of still nominal bourgeois democracy; we need to show where this process has led, in country after country, and must inevitably lead, to open and complete fascist dictatorship and terror, unless the workers already take up the united struggle against the present stage of the offensive; and on this basis we call the workers in these countries to the struggle against fascism and against the governments which are preparing fascist dictatorship.

The new manifestations, represented by the National Government in Britain, the Roosevelt regime in the United States, etc., will need special analysis.

In the case of Britain, the fascist significance of the National Government, as marking a step on the road towards fascism, lies in (1) The conditions of its formation, *i.e.*, the bankruptcy and collapse of the Second Labor Government, the disillusionment of a wide body of workers, as seen in the fall of the Labor vote by two millions, and the cunning utilization of this situation by the bourgeoisie to conceal their old parties under a new "national" front, with a "National Labor" wing, and on this basis win a majority; (2) The intensification of the capitalist dictatorship by the National Government, diminution of the role of parliament, and increasing government by administrative and executive order within the framework of very wide enabling laws; (3) The economic program, comparable in many respects to the Hitler type, of highly fettered tariff, quota and license system, state subsidies and regulation, compulsory reorganization, restriction of production, raising of prices, etc., for the benefit of the big trusts, towards the aim of increasing national and imperialist "self-sufficiency", and towards war aims; (4) The intensified repression against the working class, both legislative measures such as the Sedition Act and Unemployment Act, and police measures, strengthening and militarization of the police, prohibitions of meetings and demonstrations, increase of arrests, formation of training camps for the unemployed youth; (5) Protection of the new open fascist formations, and assistance to them through the police and law courts.

In the United States, the Roosevelt emergency regime shows the whole process in a still clearer and sharper form, the concentration of wide emergency dictatorial powers in the hands of the President, the state regulation of industry for the benefit of monopoly capital, extreme violence against the workers, and intensified war preparations all under a cover of extreme social demogagy. Here is the classic type of the most modern process of fascization within the Western imperialist, still nominally bourgeois-democratic States.

In France, the open fascist offensive of February 6, 1934, led to the ignominous capitulation of the weak "Left" Government, despite its parliamentary majority, and thus showed already the power of fascism over the parliamentary forms, forcing in this way by extra-parliamentary pressure the formation of the National Concentration Government of Doumergue, which proceeded to attempt to carry out the reactionary

transformation of the constitution. Here, however, the strength of the workers' united front checked the advance, brought about the fall of Doumergue, and led to the interim Flandin Cabinet, under which the organization and arming of the fascist formations has gone rapidly forward.

In Belgium, the parliament is openly replaced by the Emergency Powers ("pleins pouvoirs") of the government, which rules by decree, as in the Bruening regime, at the same time as the chiefs of the Labor Party enter into direct coalition with the government Ministers in the National Commission of Labor. The offensive against the working class, carried out with extreme ruthlessness in the economic field, and in the political field directed in the first place against the Communists, extended even to the prohibition of the Labor mass demonstration in Brussels on February 24, 1935.

In Czechoslovakia we see an open Coalition Government, with the participation of Social-Democracy, nominally for the "defense of democracy", which strengthens administrative measures against the working class and prepares the legislative prohibition of the Communist Party (proposed legislation for the registration of political parties, to give legal rights only to parties accepting the basis of bourgeois democracy).

In Canada, the Bennett Government proclaims a Rooseveltian "New Deal" (amid the applause of the leaders of the Social-Democratic Co-operative Commonwealth Federation), denounces the "old capitalism" as "bankrupt", promises wide social reform and "redistribution of income", and combines this social demagogy with a ruthless offensive against the working class and legal prohibition of the Communist Party.

All these examples, which could be further illustrated from the experiences of Sweden, Switzerland, Holland, Australia, etc., show the enormous variety and manifold paths of the process of fascization in the different countries. There is no single line of fascization for all countries, but only a common universal tendency of present day capitalism, the detailed working out of which requires to be analyzed in relation to the concrete conditions of each country. Only on the basis of such a concrete analysis, can we convince the workers in each country of the sharp reality of the menace of fascism in all these transitional forms.

Still more important, there is no single straight-line *automatic* process of fascization leading through a fixed gradation of stages to an inevitable conclusion. The process at each stage is dependent on the degree of resistance of the workers, and consequently can frequently take on a *zigzag* character. This has been most powerfully shown by the example of France, where the strength of the workers' united front definitely checked the advance of the planned fascist offensive in 1934, and compelled the bourgeoisie to pursue a slower and more complicated course. Similarly, the armed struggle in Spain threw into confusion the rapid fascist transformation, and, despite the raging reaction, gives the possibility of further development of the workers' struggle and changing of the whole line of development. On a smaller scale, the still limited, but growing, united front from below in Britain compelled the National Government in February 1935, to retreat in its offensive against the unemployed (hasty suspension of the new legislation under mass pressure), created confusion in the government ranks, and led to hasty plans for a "reconstruction" of the government, either by the inclusion of the demagogue Lloyd George in the government, or possibly for a Lloyd George-Labor Government or a Labor Government.

The fascist offensive can be turned at every stage by the workers' resistance. A continuous battle develops in all countries, the fortunes of

which depend on the strength of the workers' united front at the given stage. So far, from each country necessarily reproducing the experiences of those countries where fascism has won power, the experience of the latter countries and of the development of the fight in each country awakens and strengthens the working class in every country to learn the lessons and advance to the new conditions of the fight. The experience revealed in the chain, Italy-Germany-Austria-France-Spain, shows a continuous advance in the experience and strength of the fight of the international working class against fascism. In consequence the most important lesson with regard to the whole process of fascization is precisely that it is *not inevitable*, but that the strength of the workers' resistance against the *present* stage of the offensive determines the future course of the struggle.

IV. SOME QUESTIONS OF SOCIAL-DEMOCRACY AND FASCISM IN THE NEW STAGE

The special problems of the relations of Social-Democracy and fascism have mainly developed in the period since the Sixth Congress, and, while touched on by the Sixth Congress, have received their fullest treatment so far (*i.e.*, up to 1933, but not yet further) in the successive plenary sessions of the Executive from the Tenth Plenum to the Thirteenth Plenum.

The analysis of social-fascism, as to the increasing new tendency revealed by Social-Democracy parallel to the transition of capitalism as a whole to fascist forms and methods, was first explicitly elaborated at the Tenth Plenum in 1929. The Sixth Congress had already noted the "many points of contact with fascism" shown by the ideology of Social-Democracy, the "employment of fascist methods in a rudimentary form in the practice of many Social-Democratic parties", and that (*International Program*) "Social-Democracy itself often plays a fascist role in periods when the situation is critical for capitalism; in the process of development Social-Democracy reveals fascist tendencies". The Tenth Plenum for the first time laid down the principle that

> ". . . in countries where there are strong Social-Democratic parties, fascism assumes the particular form of social-fascism, which to an ever increasing extent serves the bourgeoisie as an instrument for paralyzing the activities of the masses against the regime of fascist dictatorship."

And further that in Germany:

> "Social-Democracy prohibits May Day demonstrations. It shoots down unarmed workers during May Day demonstrations. It is Social-Democracy which suppresses the labor press (*Rote Fahne*) and mass labor organizations, prepares the suppression of the C.P.G. and organizes the crushing of the working class by fascist methods. This is the road of the coalition policy of Social-Democracy leading to social-fascism."

The Eleventh Plenum noted that:

> "The whole development of Social-Democracy from the time of the war and the rise of the Soviet Government of the U.S.S.R. is an uninterrupted process of evolution towards fascism."

The Twelfth Plenum clearly stated the difference between fascism and social-fascism, which is no less important than the analogy between them:

> "Both fascism and social-fascism (Social-Democracy) stand

> for the maintenance and the strengthening of capitalism and bourgeois dictatorship, but from this position they each adopt different tactical views. . . . The social-fascists prefer a moderate and 'lawful' application of bourgeois class coercion, because they do not want to contract the basis of the bourgeois dictatorship; they guard its 'democratic' drapings, and strive chiefly to preserve its parliamentary forms, for without these the social-fascists would be hampered in carrying out their special function of deceiving the *working masses*. At the same time the social-fascists restrain the workers from revolutionary action against the capitalist offensive and growing fascism, play the part of a screen behind which the fascists are able to organize their forces and build the road for the fascist dictatorship."

Finally the Thirteenth Plenum elaborated this distinction between the tactical methods of fascism and social-fascism:

> "The general line of all bourgeois parties, including Social-Democracy, is towards the fascization of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie"; but "the realization of this line inevitably gives rise to disagreements among them as to forms and methods of fascization. Certain bourgeois groups, particularly the social-fascists, who in practice stick at nothing in their acts of police violence against the proletariat, urge the maintenance of parliamentary forms when carrying through the fascization of the bourgeois dictatorship."

It will be seen that the conception of social-fascism, or the role of Social-Democracy in assisting the advance of fascism, involves two main factors: (1) the *negative* factor of assisting the advance of fascism by paralyzing the struggle of the working class against it; (2) the *positive* factor of directly assisting the process of fascization of the State, and use of fascist methods of coercion against the working class by Social-Democracy in possession of the State apparatus.

At the time of the Tenth Plenum in 1929, this positive factor was strongly to the forefront through the demonstration of the role of the German Social-Democratic Government in suppressing the revolutionary working class press and mass organizations, prohibiting May Day demonstrations and shooting down unarmed workers. In consequence the question arose whether social-fascism might not prove in certain countries and conditions to be a *substitute* for open fascism, replacing open fascism where Social-Democracy was strongly organized ("In countries where there are strong Social-Democratic parties fascism assumes the particular form of social-fascism", *Tenth Plenum Theses*), or whether social-fascism should rather be regarded as a *part* of the process of fascization and a *stage* on the road to full fascism. In the Tenth Plenum discussions, Comrade Martynov put forward the view:

> "In highly industrialized countries like Germany and England, we are faced with direct civil war between the proletariat and the labor aristocracy, which is today the spearhead of the bourgeois counter-revolution. In these advanced industrialized countries the counter-revolutionary role of the pure fascist organizations will be no doubt of lesser significance. Pure fascism will, in the situation of a war or civil war, be our strongest enemy only in backward semi-agrarian countries, where pure fascism holds the reins." (*Tenth Plenum Protocol*, German text, p. 231.)

It is clear that this formulation requires qualification in the light of later experience. In the same debate Comrade Bela Kun put the issue more sharply and clearly as follows:

> "We need to determine whether social-fascism is only a stage to fascism, or whether it represents a distinct phenomenon. However, too few facts are yet available to determine this. The development of Social-Democracy to social-fascism has not yet advanced so far as to enable us to decide whether social-fascism is a distinct and final form of fascization for many countries, or whether it is only a stage to the full development of fascism also in countries like Germany." (*Ibid.* p. 190.)

History has now given the answer to this question. It is clear that social-fascism can represent no final resting place, no permanent system or realization of fascist dictatorship in a peculiar form for advanced industrial countries, but only a factor in the process of fascization, of the evolution to full and open fascism or "pure fascism" also in the advanced industrial countries. This, the example of Germany has shown. The decisive reasons for this lie in the whole character of social-fascism, and in the conditions of the sharpening class struggle. In the first place, as has been repeatedly insisted in all our theses, social-fascism represents no final completed outcome of Social-Democracy in any country, but has only represented an increasing *tendency* of Social-Democracy in the period of the capitalist advance to fascism ("the road of Social-Democracy *leading* to social-fascism", *Tenth Plenum Theses*: "evolution *towards* fascism", *Eleventh Plenum Theses;* "Social-Democracy turns *more and more* into open social-fascism", *Molotov at the Tenth Plenum*, p. 420); it is a moving process, not a fixed form. In the second place, this process cannot be other than a *stage* in the whole of fascization and the development of the class struggle. For, *in proportion as Social-Democracy advances to social-fascism and succeeds in its role of strangling the struggle of the working class against fascism*, in *precisely that same proportion the advance of open fascism is facilitated, and the final outcome is inevitably, not the rule of Social-Democracy as the substitute for open fascism, but the victory of open fascism and ultimate thrusting aside of Social-Democracy from the State apparatus and open political life as no longer necessary in this role to the open fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.* This is the key process, the demonstration of the contradictory and ultimately suicidal and *self-destructive role of social-fascism*, which has received its classic exemplification in Germany and later in Austria.

Up to the very last, the German Social-Democratic leadership sought to carry through the role of social-fascism to its logical conclusion, and openly offered their services to the Hitler fascist dictatorship (May 17 Reichstag vote, and A.D.G.B. Executive declaration to Hitler). But they were thrust aside; their offer was not accepted; their party and trade-union organizations, which were the basis of their political value to the bourgeoisie, were dissolved; and those of the leadership who did not pass over to fascism as individuals, or disappear from political life, passed into exile. Why were they thus thrust aside? Not because of any unwillingness on their part to serve fascism, but because, while their services were indispensable in the process *leading up to* fascism, the completed fascist dictatorship could no longer have any confidence in their ability to control the workers in the interests of open fascism (it was on May 2 that the trade-union central offices were occupied and Leipart arrested, the day after the ineffectiveness of the trade-union leaders' call to the workers to participate in Hitler's May Day demonstration had been revealed), and above all because the completed fascist dictatorship could not tolerate the existence of any form of working-class organizations save under its direct control (ultimately even break-

ing up those under its own control, as in the increasing dissolution of the N.S.B.O. organizations).

This does not exclude the possibility that, if the situation of the open fascist dictatorship becomes critical, the Social-Democratic leadership may once again be called in to assist, as certain signs have already given a preliminary indication. Such a development, however, would be a characteristic sign of the *weakening*, not of the strengthening, of the fascist dictatorship, and would therefore only the more fully reveal the essential role of Social-Democracy as in the *transitional* stages, when the masses are in movement and require to be held back, and not as having a place in the completed fascist dictatorship. The present phase has thus sharply revealed the *blind alley* at the end of the road of social-fascism, that even for the highest, most consistent and most shameless social-fascist leadership the end of the road is, not State power and the domination of the completed fascist stage, but Prague and Brunn. This experience has had a profound effect on the other Social-Democratic parties, not merely on the mass of the membership, but also on a considerable proportion of the leadership, who have awakened sharply to the menace of fascism and in a number of countries have become ready to enter into a united front with Communism against fascism.

It is thus clear that, since the accession of Hitler to power and the dissolution of the German Social-Democratic Party, and the consequent crisis of Social-Democracy, we have entered into *a new stage of the question of Social-Democracy and fasoism on an international scale;* and the whole question requires to be reviewed afresh in the light of the new situation.

The new stage (which should not of course be marked off too sharply, incorporating, as it does, also tendencies which had begun to arise with the effects of the world economic crisis) is characterized by:

1. The dissolution of the powerful German and Austrian Social-Democratic Parties, which had formerly played a leading role in the Second International, and their replacement by smaller illegal formations, showing a degree of independence from the older leadership in exile, and the strong tendencies to the united front with Communism;

2. The advance of a series of Social-Democratic Parties in important countries, especially France and Spain, to the united front with Communism;

3. Sharp division within the Second International between the minority, supporting the united front, and the majority, maintaining the old line; consequent raising of the ban on the united front;

4. Ideological confusion within Social-Democracy, and wide-spread repudiation of the old line (as represented by German Social-Democracy and the first two British Labor Governments) as mistaken and incorrect; declarations by a section, including by a section of the leadership, in favor of the principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

5. Conflict of tendencies within Social-Democracy, and splitting off of sections both on the Right and on the Left;

6. Formation of a grouping of "Left Socialist Parties", outside the Second International, but not yet prepared to enter into the Communist International.

All this process reflects the profound change taking place within the working class consequent on the advance of fascism, and the varied effects of this mass pressure on the existing Social-Democratic Parties.

It is evident that we have here an extremely manifold and varied picture of present-day Social-Democracy, in contrast to the situation of

1928 (Sixth Congress) or 1929 (Tenth Plenum). Under these conditions, *Social-Democracy can no longer be adequately treated as a single whole*, even in the sense in which, at the time of the Brussels Congress of the Second International in 1928, the various Social-Democratic Parties despite divergences, could be treated as representing a more or less uniform basic type. *We need now to analyze the situation in each country, or in each group or type of countries, separately, and to develop our tactics accordingly.* Similarly within each country we need to distinguish carefully between the different sections and tendencies.

First, in the countries under fascist dictatorship, with Social-Democracy illegal, as typified by Germany and Austria (in countries like Hungary and Poland, where Social-Democracy still enjoys legal privileges under the dictatorship, the old analysis of social-fascism remains unchanged). Here it is essential to distinguish between the old leadership in emigration, as represented by Wels, and the illegal Social-Democratic groups, which, with whatever still remaining old or new prejudices and illusions, are striving to fight fascism, and in many cases are moving towards Communism or entering into united action with Communism. In the words of Comrade Knorin, at the Presidium discussion in July, 1934 (*Communist International*, English edition, Vol. XI, No. 16, August 20, 1034):

> "The situation in Germany has altered. But even now it is correct to call Wels a social-fascist, and it is true that the fascists and Social-Democracy, led by Wels, were twins. But the illegal Social-Democratic groups which are now carrying on work in Germany are not social-fascists and do not constitute the social support of the bourgeoisie."

The Thirteenth Plenum in December, 1933, still laid down that:

> "Social-Democracy continues to play the role of the main social prop of the bourgeoisie also in the countries of open fascist dictatorship."

It is clear that this analysis will require careful review and fuller working out in our future treatment, in order to prevent dangerous misunderstanding. We do not for a moment wish to suggest that the present illegal Social-Democratic groups in Germany which are seeking to fight fascism constitute "the main social prop of the bourgeoisie" in Germany. On the other hand, if the reference were understood as being made to the Prague Executive, it is decidedly open to question whether this at the present stage has any such degree of mass influence as to make it capable of being "the main social prop of the bourgeoisie" in existing Germany. What, then, remains correct? Two things. First, in so far as Social-Democratic *ideology* and the remains of passive Social-Democratic organizational traditions still hold back the mass of the industrial workers from revolutionary struggle and from the united class front with the Communists, then it is true that this situation, inherited from the old Social-Democracy, is still the decisive factor in making possible the maintenance of fascism in power and holding back the workers from its overthrow, and to this extent could still be described as "the main social prop of the bourgeoisie", since fascism could not maintain itself against the struggle of the united working class. Secondly, it is also true that the old Social-Democratic leadership and the remaining old cadres still available or in contact with them do still constitute the *potential reserve* for the bourgeoisie, in the event of the development of the mass movement, to endeavor once again, as they undoubtedly will endeavor, to strangle it from within and draw it back into servitude to the

bourgeoisie dictatorship under new forms. Both these factors are of the greatest importance; and there could be no greater mistake than to regard Social-Democracy as "finished" in the countries of open fascist dictatorship because of the dissolution of the old Social-Democratic Parties. But it is evident that all these factors of the new situation will require very careful and thorough analysis in order to give correct guidance for the future.

The second main group and new type of situation is constituted by those countries where Social-Democracy has entered into a united front with Communism, as exemplified in different forms in Spain (where the present dominant leaders of the Socialist Party have proclaimed the aim of the dictatorship of the proletariat) and in France (where the Socialist Party remains on the basis of bourgeois democracy, but has entered into alliance with Communism for common struggle against the fascist menace). In this situation it is manifest that the analysis of social-fascism no longer applies. But this does not mean that the principles of Social-Democracy do not remain as the most serious inner danger to the advance of the working class, or that the united front can be regarded as a kind of solution of the issue of Social-Democracy and Communism. On the contrary, the further development of the struggle will inevitably bring sharper and more fundamental issues at each stage; and the future advance and victory of the proletarian front will depend on the majority of the workers becoming convinced, through the experience of the struggle, of the necessity of the revolutionary line, and rallying increasingly around the leadership of the Communist Party and ultimately in a United Communist Party embracing the overwhelming majority of the politically conscious workers. The situation of the Social-Democratic Parties which have entered into a provisional alliance with Communism cannot be regarded as a permanent situation, but is necessarily *transitional* in character—an unstable equilibrium between the mass pressure to the Left and the still retarding effect of the old Social-Democratic forces and traditions. Further development must inevitably compel, through the successive unfolding of the struggle, the further development of these parties in one direction or the other, or rather, will compel the *polarization of the conflicting elements* within these parties, either back to the bourgeois camp, or forward to the revolutionary line and increasing unity, ultimately unification, with Communism. In this process much will depend on our tactics, on our ability to combine pliability and sympathetic and comradely approach to the Leftward process with basic firmness of revolutionary principle, in order to assist the development.

Finally, the third main grouping is constituted by the right bloc of Social-Democracy which continues the old line, and in particular, by the *British-Dutch-Scandinavian Bloc*, which carries on the old line of German Social-Democracy in the most reactionary form. It is of the utmost importance to see clearly the character of this line, and its still so far dominant position in the Second International, in judging the changes and new tendencies developing within Social-Democracy. We have here a demonstration in the highest degree of the *inequality of development* of present Social-Democracy. It would obviously be the greatest danger if, because the undoubtedly changed situation in Germany and France has led to the old type of analysis of social-fascism no longer being applicable in the same form to those countries, we should therefore fail to see that in the slower development of Britain the British Labor Party, in its official policy and leadership, is still advancing to the highest degree of development towards social-fascism yet reached in Britain. While German Social-Democracy has suffered shipwreck, the British Labor Party is

carrying forward the same policy which led to that shipwreck, and is even reaching to a new temporary blooming, and going forward with marked electoral advance and rosy hopes towards a third Labor Government, as if it were still in a period corresponding to the 1929 period of German Social-Democracy. The leadership of the type of a Morrison, now dominant in Britain, is the clearest type of a social-fascist leadership yet reached in Britain. The Southport Program, adopted at the 1934 Conference, with its "public corporations" system for industry, its open support for imperialist war, and its intensified ban on any even "loose association" with Communists, is the most extreme social-fascist program yet reached in Britain. Certainly, the rapidly rising advance of the class struggle in Britain, and the growth of the united front from below, may bring considerable changes to this line of development in the near future; the fight for the united front is powerfully on the upgrade, despite all the bans. But at the present stage it is essential to recognize this position, and its enormous importance for the whole position of the Second International, in estimating the changes now taking place in Social-Democracy.

The period since June 30, 1934, which first demonstrated the beginning of a crisis of fascism on an international scale, has opened a new situation. We are undoubtedly advancing towards the decisive struggles against fascism. In the countries of open fascist dictatorship, the mass basis of the dictatorship is contracting. In the other countries the bourgeoisie is compelled for the moment to maneuver and temporize and adopt more subtle methods for its preparations of the further fascist offensive. In France the Doumergue-Tardieu Government had to be replaced by Flandin; in Britain the National Government is preparing its demise and replacement by a "reconstructed" government, or possibly even by a Labor Government; in the United States the hold of Roosevelt is weakening. In all countries the working-class forces are gathering strength.

This process has a twofold effect. On the one hand, liberal-reformism and the Right Social-Democratic leadership, passing from their previous lugubrious prophecies of an "epoch of fascism", begin now to preach illusions of the "retreat of fascism", that the highest point of the fascist menace is passed, that fascism will "pass away" peacefully without revolutionary struggle.

On the other hand, the working masses, gathering new confidence, advance with increasing force to the struggle in all countries; the united front advances; the Communist Parties gain in strength in all countries.

This twofold effect is reflected in the process of differentiation and polarization of forces within Social-Democracy, and the development for the first time in a number of important countries of the possibility and beginnings of realization of a united mass front with the Communist Parties in the leading role—the necessary condition for the defeat of fascism and the victory of the working class.

This is the situation which offers the greatest revolutionary opportunities in the coming period, but opportunities requiring the highest tactical skill, to mobilize the mass forces of the working class for decisive blows against fascism. For the guidance of this struggle we shall need, at the Seventh Congress, to carry through the most careful analysis and fresh review of the present position, forces and methods of fascism in the different countries, of our own forces and the situation in the working class for the fight against fascism, and the consequent tactics to be followed, in order to give to the working class the leadership and perspective for the victorious struggle against the present culminating stages of the capitalist dictatorship in all its forms.

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